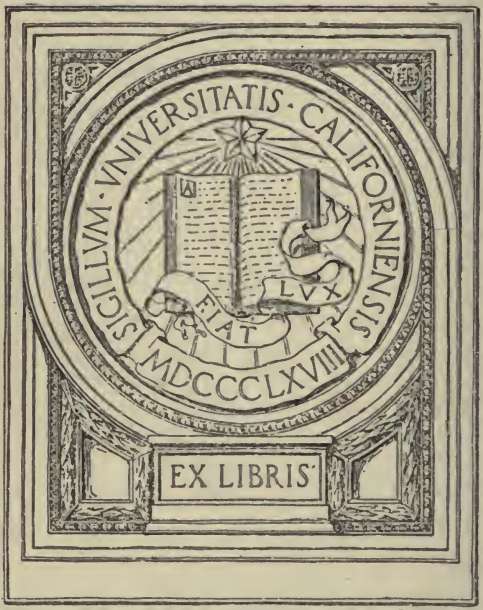

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Handbook for Literary and Debating Societies

By Laurence M. Gibson M A

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

Including 83 Examples of Questions for Debate, with Summarized Arguments on both sides.

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EIGHTH EDITION, REVISED AND ENLARGED

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PREFACE

THE old custom, practised by mediæval professors, of roving from place to place, challenging all comers to meet them in argument on any subject, has fallen into abeyance. Its modern parallel is found in Debating Societies, and even these are unfortunately somewhat on the decline. Perhaps one cause of such falling off is the difficulty of discovering suitable subjects for debate and the corresponding difficulty of knowing where to find good books on the subjects proposed. This handbook, undertaken at the suggestion of Dr. Robertson Nicoll, is designed to help in meeting both difficulties. A number of skeleton debates are given, and after each follows a list of references, which have been carefully compiled with the object of furnishing in the main those which are easily accessible.

A short chapter of directions for the guidance of chairmen has been prefixed. It can hardly be considered superfluous in view of the ever recurring bewilderment of amateur chairmen when they discover the appropriateness of Lewis Carroll's postulate :—"Let it be granted that a speech may be made on any subject, and at any distance from that subject."

I am indebted to more books, reviews, and articles than it is possible to enumerate here, and I have specially to thank Dr. Nicoll and the Rev. T. H. Darlow for much help and kind suggestion as the book was being compiled.

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The object of this book will be achieved if it should prove of practical use to those who find themselves brought face to face with the stern necessity of taking part in a debate with scant time at their disposal for research.

If in any case the references given are found to be insufficient, the reader is referred to Poole's *Index to Periodicals* (with its supplements), Sonnenschein's *The Best Books*, the subject catalogues of any good library and the valuable Bibliographies dealing with special subjects (to find these refer to the excellent *Bibliography of Bibliographies* in the British Museum Reading Room). For detailed information on social subjects see the *Encyclopædia of Social Reform* (Funk & Wagnalls, 1897), to which I have often made profitable reference.

LAURENCE M. GIBSON.

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BRIEF DIRECTIONS FOR THE CONDUCT OF A PUBLIC MEETING

AT a Literary and Debating Society's meetings it is no uncommon thing to find that the chairman has but a vague notion of his duties and of his powers, and the natural result is that sometimes the meeting falls into a confusion which could easily have been prevented if the chairman had only known how to act. It may not seem, then, out of place if the main duties of a chairman are briefly set forth and his powers explained.

Choice of a Chairman

The success of any public meeting depends so much upon the skill and discretion of the chairman that special care should always be taken to obtain a suitable person for the office. Very frequently the rules of the Society provide for the filling of this office, and in this case there is no difficulty. If, however, a chairman is not appointed by the rules, or if the appointed chairman be absent, then another must be elected when the meeting comes together.

Order of Procedure

The following is generally established by custom as being the best order in which to transact the business of the meeting :—

1. A good way to begin is to announce the object for which the meeting has come together. Special care should

be taken to do this, if there is any danger of the object having been only indefinitely grasped by those attending. If the purpose for which the meeting has come together be well understood, this explanation is not necessary. Sometimes the method of opening the meeting is provided for by the rules, and then, of course, it is the chairman's first duty to so open the meeting, or to call upon some one else to do so.

2. His next duty is to call upon the secretary to read the minutes of the last meeting, and, after the reading, the chairman should ask the meeting if these minutes are approved as correct. It is here in order for any one to rise and criticise the minutes as inaccurate or defective, and, if the criticism is held to be just by the meeting, the secretary must alter the minutes accordingly; but if, on the other hand, the meeting approve the minutes, then, after they are signed by the chairman, the business proceeds, the chairman calling for the

3. Reports of the standing committees (if any). Every Literary and Debating Society will almost certainly have at least one standing committee, whose members are appointed at the Annual Meeting, and who transact the business of the Society. As this committee has considerable trust reposed in it, there should be a report of its proceedings laid before the Society from time to time (as the business may require) for the information and the satisfaction of the members of the Society. The powers of this committee are often defined in the rules.

4. Reports of special committees (if any). The distinction between a "standing" and a "special" committee should be carefully observed. A "standing" committee is appointed by the Society for the quick despatch of its ordinary business, and its powers are usually defined in the rules; but often special questions arise involving inquiries,

or the drawing up of documents or the like, and it is very convenient in these cases to appoint a "special" committee for the particular business. These special committees always receive "instructions" at the time of their appointment; that is, they are given to understand exactly what is required of them, and when they have discharged the duty thus laid upon them, they report to the Society, and are dismissed from the duty, or have the matter referred back to them for reconsideration, in which case, of course, they must report again before they can be dismissed.

5. Orders of the day (if any). Sometimes it is appointed by the Society that a certain matter shall be discussed upon a certain day, and when, therefore, the day appointed comes, this matter must be given precedence; or else, if it is left till later in the evening, it runs the risk of being shelved for lack of time, and then the chairman puts himself in the unfortunate position of having, by bad management, really defeated what he had previously appointed to be considered. If for any reason the orders of the day are not discussed, then they fall to the ground, and they must be renewed if they are to be discussed at the next meeting.

6. Business unfinished. If any notices of motions have been given at the previous meeting, the motions are discussed under this head.

7. New business, such as election of new members, notices of motions, etc. The chairman, having thus cleared the ground, can now proceed to the

8. Main object of the meeting. This may be (*a*) to hear an essay, (*b*) to hold a debate, or (*c*) to listen to a lecture. The chairman will of course modify his action according to the form of the matter in hand. (*a*) If an essay is to be read, the chairman should state in a few words the subject of the essay, and call upon the essayist to read it. (*b*) If there is to be a debate, the

chairman announces the subject, reminds the audience of the rules as to time, drawing attention to any special regulation which may have been made by the committee, and then calls upon the opener to lead off the debate. It is very advisable that any special regulation should be laid before the meeting, in order that the chairman may get authority to enforce it. (*c*) If it is a lecture, the chairman may introduce the lecturer in a few words to the audience, and bespeak an attentive hearing.

9. (*a*) When the essay is over, the chairman may throw open the meeting to those who wish to make any remarks on the subject of the essay, or (with the permission of the essayist), he may invite any questions, which often give rise to much interest, especially if the essayist be an expert in the subject of which he is treating. Then the essayist is given an opportunity for reply, and the meeting is closed by a few words from the chair, summing up the proceedings.

(*b*) When the debate is over, it is usual for the chairman to briefly sum up the debate, being very careful to be impartial. This requires a clear and a cool head, and unless the chairman feels capable, it is better not attempted, except in general terms. Then he should call upon the supporter of the negative to reply (it being presumed that the supporter of the positive led off the debate), and afterwards he should call upon the supporter of the positive to reply. After this, the chairman clearly announces the question in debate, so as to leave as little room for doubt as possible as to the exact nature of the issue. Then the votes are taken, first for the negative, then for the positive, either by show of hands, or by division, or by ballot. In any case, there must be more than one teller, or counter, of votes. When the tellers are agreed, they inform the chairman of the result, and he announces it to the meeting, and, with a few words, brings the proceedings to a close.

(*c*) When the lecture is over, the chairman may make a few remarks, and give an opportunity for some one to propose a vote of thanks, which, on being seconded and passed, he presents (as it were) to the lecturer, who replies briefly, and the chairman closes the meeting. When a vote of thanks is proposed to the chairman, it is customary for the seconder to put it to the meeting.

Meetings are held for many other purposes than those mentioned, but it is usually easy enough for the chairman to see how he should modify his methods to suit the peculiarities of each case.

There are one or two matters of detail which it would be as well to draw out somewhat at length.

Method of Dealing with General Motions, Amendments, etc.

Here is where chairmen most frequently fall into confusion, through not being sufficiently careful to observe the useful rule that there should not be more than one motion before the meeting at a time. Suppose a meeting has been called for which there is no definite agenda paper, through the items of which the chairman can methodically move, but which has met to deliberate or consult. The chairman will begin by calling for some motion to be laid before the meeting. This motion should be handed to the chairman in writing, and he should distinctly announce the name of the speaker to it. We can call this, for the sake of convenience, "Motion A." When the proposer of this motion sits down, the chairman asks for a seconder, and if any one should rise at this stage to criticise the motion, or to propose another, or to propose a direct negative, or to do anything but second the motion, he is out of order, and must be at once ruled so by the chair. The "Motion A"

cannot be laid before the meeting until seconded, and, if it is not seconded, it falls to the ground.

We have now reached the stage when "Motion A," duly seconded, is laid by the chairman before the meeting, and now the following courses of procedure are in order :—

1. The Previous Question may be proposed, and does not require to be seconded. It is best moved in this form :— "That the main question be now put." If this receives a negative answer, the subject under discussion is often regarded as disposed of for the day, and if in the affirmative, the main question must be put at once without further discussion. The Previous Question is such an obscure phrase, and there is so much confusion in the public mind as to what it exactly means, that it is well to avoid the expression. It is better to propose exactly what is wanted in plain words, viz., "That we do not take a vote to-day," "That we now proceed to the next business," or the like ; that is, whenever possible, resort to the well-understood closure and keep clear of the moribund phrase "Previous Question."

2. A direct negative may be proposed, and, if seconded, stands. The meaning of a direct negative is plain, and raises at once a clear issue.

3. An amendment to the motion may be proposed, and, if seconded, stands. A proposer of an amendment may agree in general with the motion, but object on a matter of detail which he wishes altered, and the chairman should note down the exact nature of the alteration proposed. An amendment sometimes attacks a vital clause in the motion, which, if altered, would make the motion ridiculous, and so secure its defeat.

4. The best way of dealing with amendments is as follows —Insist on the amendments being proposed in the order of the clauses of the motion, and put each amendment to the vote against that part of the motion to which it applies before

passing on to the next amendment. This is the practice of Parliament, and has many advantages. If an amendment is carried against the motion, then the "Motion as Amended" must be put to the meeting as a "Substantive Motion," and a fresh debate may take place.

The following points should also be borne in mind:—

1. No one can alter or withdraw an amendment or a motion without the consent of his seconder and of the meeting.

2. Care should be taken to see that amendments as they arise are exclusive of one another, *i.e.* if an amendment is proposed and seconded, and afterwards another dealing with the same substantial matter is advanced, it should either be put as an amendment to the amendment or ruled out of order.

3. If any one rises to a point of order, he should be heard at any stage, and the same rule applies to any one rising to a point of privilege, *i.e.* a matter dealing with the rights of any one as a man or as a member of the Society. If the chairman considers the interrupting speaker to have made his point good, he puts the issue before the meeting, who decide; but if he considers that it is not made good, he rules it out of order, and goes on. This applies also to any motion to suspend a rule.[1]

4. It should be noted that a "motion" is the matter in hand stated, that when the matter in hand is laid before the meeting it becomes the "question," and when it is passed it becomes either (*a*) an order of the assembly,

[1] This should be done by general consent, but usually the rules of the Society deal with the matter. It may be added that a member has a right to explain himself, but not to interrupt another for this purpose: he should wait until the speech is over, and then offer his explanation, being careful not to trench upon the question at issue, especially if he has already spoken upon it.

or (*b*) a resolution of the assembly,

or (*c*) a vote of the assembly.

5. Before business can be transacted a "quorum" must be present. The number constituting a quorum is usually fixed by the rules, and if not it should be a majority of the members.

6. The chairman should always rise to state a motion or to put a question.

7. The following are the recognised means at the disposal of the chairman for restraining unruly individuals:—(*a*) Reprimand. A little tact and humour go a long way towards preventing disorder. If those present feel that the chairman is doing his best to act justly, they are sure to support him. The chairman should bear in mind that he is acting in an official and not in a private capacity, and that therefore his tone should always be calm and judicial. Unless he can keep his personal feelings under strict control, he is not fit to be chairman. (*b*) Exclusion from the meeting. It should be noted that no remarks are allowed except those addressed to the chairman, and anything like a personal altercation must be stopped. This can be done by insisting on one of the contending parties addressing the chair and making a definite motion, which, if seconded, can be put to the vote. If two speakers insist on being heard, and neither will withdraw, the chairman should get the meeting to vote on which they will hear. In the event of a speaker taking excessive time, the chairman should take a vote to discover whether those present are willing to hear the speaker further. (*c*) A prohibition to speak or vote for a specified time. (*d*) Expulsion from the Society. In the extreme case of a person insisting upon attending the meetings of a society from which he has been expelled, with the express object of making a disturbance, the society should, if they own the premises where the meetings are held, take means to

prevent that person entering the meeting; otherwise a constable should be called in to maintain order.[1] (*e*) Apology on pain of expulsion is also sometimes resorted to.

8. Any motion for the enforcement of the rules, or any motion dealing with a matter of order, or proposing the previous question, or for the consideration of the orders of the day, does not need to be seconded (because it manifestly deals with matters already decided or taken for granted by the meeting).

9. When a motion is made, it can be met in one of the following ways :—

(*a*) By Previous Question (which puts the matter to the vote at once).
(*b*) By postponing *sine die*—this shelves the motion.
(*c*) By postponing to some future day (mentioned).
(*d*) By proposing that "it lie on the table," *i.e.* for future consideration.
(*e*) By referring it to a committee.
(*f*) By proposing an amendment.
(*g*) By proposing a direct negative.

A debate can be stopped in the following ways :—

(*a*) By passing a motion that the chairman do now leave the chair. This, if carried, brings the meeting to an end:
(*b*) By a motion "that we pass to the next business." This stops the debate without closing the meeting.
(*c*) By the closure. The chairman allows a motion to be interpolated "that we now vote," or "that we vote at a certain time." This motion is open to amendments concerning time, but to no others.

[1] As a last resort the chairman can send for the police and have the room cleared.

10. If a motion embraces two or more matters, it is often convenient to break it up into separate questions, which are put before the meeting, in succession, by the chairman. A motion is of course necessary before this can be done.

11. When a motion deals with sums of money and periods of time, these matters are sometimes left blank in the motion, and new motions must be made, taking precedence of the original one, to fill up these blanks. In putting these details before the meeting the rule in England is that the smallest sum proposed and the longest time proposed be put first.

12. Every member present has the right to speak once to a resolution, and it is the duty of the chairman to see that the remarks made are confined to the subject in hand. It is well that the adjournment of a debate be moved by one who has not spoken, and the general understanding is that it is the duty of the mover of the adjournment to open the discussion at the adjourned meeting. Those who have spoken on a subject cannot be heard again on the same subject at an adjourned meeting. The seconder of a motion may reserve his speech while seconding the motion by a gesture. A seconder of an amendment, of course, cannot thus reserve his speech. No second speech upon the same question is allowed. Under this rule any one who has once spoken to a motion cannot speak again to the motion or move an amendment; but when an amendment is moved, a new question is before the meeting, and consequently those who have spoken to the original motion may speak again. The mover of a motion or an amendment has no right of reply, but by courtesy a reply is often allowed to the mover of a motion.

13. It should be noted that if the chairman intends to vote in his private capacity, he should distinctly say so before it becomes clear which way the question is likely to be settled.

If the votes are equal, then the chairman has a casting vote, even though he may have voted previously. These two votes of the chairman arise from the fact that he is acting in two capacities, private and official.

Going into Committee

To consider any urgent business, the whole meeting can go into committee on a motion to that effect being proposed and passed. In this case the chairman leaves the chair and another is appointed. The following points in the procedure of a committee of the whole Society should be noticed :—

1. The Previous Question cannot be moved, but it may be moved that the committee rise.

2. The committee does not adjourn, but must rise, and, before it can sit again, it must obtain permission to do so.

3. Any member may speak as often as he can get the floor.

4. A committee of the whole cannot appoint a sub-committee.

5. A committee of the whole has no authority in questions of breaches of order, but must refer them to the assembly.

When the committee of the whole rises, then the temporary chairman of committee vacates the chair, which is taken by the chairman of the assembly or society. Then the chairman of committee reports the business done in committee to the chair, and it is either ratified as it stands, or resolutions or orders are made upon it, or votes are taken upon it, or the matter is referred back.

The Book of Minutes

This is kept by the secretary of the Society, and techni-

cally need contain only "things done and passed" by the assembly, but it is usually expected in societies that it should also be something of a journal. The following suggestions, then, of what the minute book of a Literary and Debating Society should contain may be found useful:—

1. All resolutions as put from the chair.
2. Every question proposed or put from the chair, whether carried or not.
3. Number of votes given on each division.
4. Names of those who spoke.
5. Chairman's decisions on matters of order.
6. When a postponed or adjourned proceeding is to be considered,—which will become an order of the day.
7. All notices of motions,—which will become the unfinished business of a following meeting.
8. All documents.
9. A careful index should be kept, or else the book will be useless for reference. Such headings as the following may appear with advantage in the index:—

Syllabuses—pages where stuck in.

Decisions or orders by chair—pages where they appear.

Motions affecting the constitution of the Society, with pages where they appear and the number of the rules they modify.

Annual reports, including membership, average attendances, officers, etc.

Annual balance sheets.

Committee meetings, etc., etc.

Documents.

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EXAMPLES OF QUESTIONS FOR DEBATE

IS IT PART OF THE DUTY OF A CHURCH TO PROVIDE AMUSEMENTS?

YES

1. The Church should not have regard to men's souls only, but should take the whole of human life into consideration and under its guardianship. It should provide for the needs of weekdays as well as Sundays.

2. Amusement is an imperative necessity in these days of strain ; and if the Church does not provide amusement, it will be sought for from other agencies, usually at variance with the Church's teaching.

3. The division between secular and sacred is merely artificial, and it is necessary for the Church to discountenance only demoralising and irrational entertainments—it might well promote all others.

4. The social instinct being divinely implanted, organised Christianity should provide for its gratification, and seek to guide popular recreation into healthy channels.

5. Amusements are an excellent means of getting into touch with those over whom we wish to exercise a good influence.

6. If amusements are regarded by the Church as contraband, the young will be repelled and the masses of the people, whose lives are so much in want of being brightened, will be confirmed in their indifference to public worship.

7. Amusements exert a vast influence over life. Without them men would be sour and morose. In meeting together for purposes of amusement, there is little room for

asperities of temper, or for the selfish and mean rivalries of ordinary life.

8. A practical and sympathetic concern about the leisure hours of their congregations should be one of the recognised duties of all pastors.

9. The brightening of dull or joyless lives is one of the plainest of Christian duties. When once the Church has as a whole recognised it, no one will henceforth be able to say that they are kept away from religious bodies because of their dullness and monotony.

10. It is good for the Church that it should be alive at all points. The secular knowledge and self-restraint that may be taught through amusement and at social gatherings are gains to the Church. They make brighter homes, and focus the interest as well as the devotion of the people in the Church.

11. Tradition as well as reason are on the side of the Church making provision for rational amusement.

NO

1. The Church's mission is to the souls of men. Its duty is to teach spiritual truths and bid men carry them into effect in their daily life. Amusements, however harmless, have nothing in common with this aim, and are therefore outside the sphere of the Church.

2. The Church should guard against the intrusion of a worldly spirit. Many people have been hindered rather than helped in their spiritual advancement by adhesion to a Church which busied itself in the concerns of the world.

3. There are many different opinions as to what rational amusements are.

4. The time given to social companionship in the Church must be taken from spiritual communion. The Church,

while leaving its members free to exercise their discretion in the employment of their leisure, should stamp with its authority no single amusement that may be a stumbling-block to any weak brother.

5. It is wrong to use such a bribe or decoy as amusement in order to bring the frivolous or the indifferent to church.

6. Those who come to church because there is amusement to be found in connection with it, remain only so long as this attraction remains for them. You do not find such persons eager to attend the services that are only held for worship and purposes of spiritual communion.

7. Amusements may be a harmless relief to toil and sorrow, but the Church offers other and better alleviations. Amusements, as they are now carried on, with heat and excitement, are hardly to be distinguished from severe labour; envy, discontent, and jealousy are too often their results.

8. The best men in the Church are already overtaxed by the multifarious nature of their duties. They are bustled out of their spirituality.

9. The Church must set limitations to its duties. Just as it does not meddle with commerce, so it leaves worldly amusements to be provided for by other agencies. It is because the spiritual message of the Church is unworthily preached that there is slackness and indifference in the world.

10. The round of engagements, whether social gatherings, lectures, dramatic entertainments or the like, takes young people out almost every night, and is leading to the break-up of family life.

11. Churches have erred over and over again in the vain attempt to serve both God and the world. Compromise has always ended in abuse.

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HAVE ANIMALS INTELLIGENCE?

YES

1. The statement is often made that animals act only upon impulse. This statement is pure assumption, and if the facts are examined there are found to be many indications of distinct intelligence in animals, *e.g.*,—

(*a*) Animals have undoubtedly different natures or characters: some are revengeful, some stupid, some clever, some friendly, some savage, some affected and hypocritical, some honest and straightforward, some brave, some cowardly. In all these varying characteristics their likeness to man appears, and the presence of positive thinking faculties is indicated.

(*b*) Animals are undoubtedly subject to vices. When they have the temptation put before them they become intemperate, and their sexual instinct becomes perverted or abnormally developed just as in man. In all this intelligence plainly appears.

(*c*) The oddities and eccentricities of animals are as remarkable as those of men, and indicate the same curious perversions of mind.

2. There are numerous examples (such as those given by G. J. Romanes) of animals acting from conscientious motives apart from the fear of punishment, and these show the rudiments of a moral consciousness which can only

arise from an intelligent appreciation of some of the different values of conduct.

3. The experiments carried on by Sir John Lubbock with ants demonstrate the presence in these insects of something so like intelligence as to make it difficult to find any other appropriate word to use.

NO

1. No one can be blind to the fact that there is a radical difference between the mental constitution of animals and that of man. We express this difference by saying that animals act from instinct, while man acts from intelligence. We cannot explain what instinct is, but we know that it differs from intelligence fundamentally. The failure to make this distinction between mere instinct and positive intelligence leads to many fanciful errors :—

(*a*) The idea that animals have different characters is an indication of how we fancifully imagine we see our own characteristics in animals because their conduct sometimes seems to indicate that they suffer pleasure, pain, and animal passion.

(*b*) Animals are only subject to vices when their natural and healthy instincts are perverted by man. When left to themselves, they simply obey their instincts.

(*c*) The so-called eccentricities of animals are accounted for by the unrestrained imagination of animal-lovers dealing with certain peculiarities of instinct.

2. It is notorious that very few animal stories can bear much investigation. To speak of conscience in animals is to revive the exploded superstition that animals have souls.

3. If this point of animal intelligence be admitted, then

Darwin's theory of development will have to be extended to the mind (and soul) of man, with the result that a large portion of our most cherished religious beliefs will be undermined.

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ARE STRIKES JUSTIFIABLE?

YES

1. Morally they are justifiable, because they benefit more than they injure the majority of mankind.

2. Capital is organized with the object of allowing the minimum possible to labour of the fruits of industry. The only available weapon to the worker is the strike.

3. Arbitration cannot be considered the universal cure for labour troubles. The arbitrator is necessarily chosen from the upper classes, whose interests are always, directly or indirectly, with capital. It is only the fear of strikes that makes arbitration possible.

4. Too much attention is paid to the direct expense which strikes cause, and even to the privation which they entail upon the unemployed. These evils obtrude themselves upon the notice of every one, but they are not great relatively to the issues at stake. The policy of a campaign is not to be judged by the gain or loss of a particular battle. Even defeat is no proof that the strike was a mistake.

5. Every man has the right to withhold his labour if he please. If this is so individually, why not collectively?

NO

1. They entail suffering upon a far greater number than benefit by them.

2. The interests of capital and labour are in the end identical, and, except when stirred up by strikes, there is no hostility to labour on the part of capital.

3. They are unnecessary. Arbitration can be made use

of as effectively. It is untrue that arbitration tells unfairly in favour of employers. On the contrary, it tells in favour of labour, since the employer agrees to leave to the decision of the uninitiated technical points with which he alone can really deal. Moreover, there is a natural tendency on the part of an outsider to be biassed in favour of the worker, who is regarded as the weaker of two opponents.

4. Even if successful their cost is too great, and the gain in wages is balanced by the loss in unemployment. Taking the last fifteen years it will be found that wages have advanced most in trades where conciliation has been most adopted.

5. They make for corruption in trade union officials, and encourage the paid agitator.

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OUGHT ARBITRATION IN TRADE DISPUTES TO BE ENFORCED BY LAW?

YES

1. Private arbitration has not proved successful, as the history of the long series of disastrous strikes sufficiently shows.

2. Industrial strife is apt to reach dangerous dimensions, threatening the public good if not the public peace, and hence the government has a perfect right to interfere in the matter and make arbitration compulsory. It may be said on the one hand that a man's business is his own, and on the other that workmen have a right to combine; but the prosperity of the nation cannot be allowed to become endangered from the selfishness of either or of both parties.

3. It may be urged that a man cannot be forced to open his works or men be compelled to work, and though this is true, yet both parties can be indirectly forced by fines. It has been urged against the Truck Acts, Shop Hours Acts, Employers' Liability Acts and the like, that they were infringements of the liberty of the subject, and yet they are obeyed, and the case would be the same with compulsory arbitration.

4. The findings of arbitration courts would create no more trouble than the findings of our courts of law, and as the one is submitted to because in the main its decisions are felt to be just, so would the proposed arbitration courts be obeyed.

5. A scheme of compulsory arbitration could readily be fenced with safeguards sufficient to prevent the irresponsible summoning either of masters or men on frivolous charges. If arbitration is not thus made compulsory, strikes become inevitable, to the impoverishment of the country and the waste of its resources.

6. There are admittedly difficulties involved, but the question is, are not those difficulties small when compared with the evils of allowing capital and labour to fight out their quarrel at the public loss?

NO

1. Compulsory arbitration could not work out in practice, for it would resolve itself into practical confiscation. If the men found it impossible to work at the wages offered, it would be a palpable injustice to fine them for refusing to obey a judgment that they should return to work, and public opinion would never allow them to be driven back to work at the point of the bayonet; so with the masters it would be unjust to force them by fines to keep their works going at a loss, and barbarous to compel them with bayonets.

2. It appears, then, that if compulsory arbitration were to succeed, it would have to control the consumer as well as the producer; if a man were forced to sell his goods at a certain price, the public would have to be made to buy them at that price.

3. If the employer were thus coerced, he would be driven to adulterate his goods so as to cover his loss, or he would enter into a huge "combine" with other employers to control prices.

4. Gradually in this way all employers would be driven by the arbitration courts into these trusts, until at last state socialism would be established at the point of the bayonet.

5. No arbitration court would have sufficient technical knowledge to settle the majority of trade disputes, and the whole system would be a violation of the rights of man, and indeed from the very fact of its being compulsory would cease to be arbitration.

6. A number of State functionaries would have to be created, and this would mean a large increase in taxation, with little prospect of any practical good results.

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IS BRITISH ART DECLINING?

YES

1. If a nation becomes wealthy by producing commodities and selling them, so much attention is necessarily paid to the quantity of the goods that their quality becomes a secondary consideration, and this means the decline of art. Even where under present conditions quality is considered, it is only thought of for the purposes of selling.

2. The poor producing classes are so absorbed in the difficult struggle of making a living that they have not time to be artistic in their work, while the rich classes, not themselves producing art, become mere *dilettanti*; thus true art declines.

3. As long as the nation's production is so entirely carried on by machinery, art is sure to be on the decline, and it cannot revive until the artisan again becomes an artist.

4. The commercial ideal is radically distinct from the artistic, and as long as England is under the dominion of the commercial ideal it is clear that art must decline.

5. This is ultimately a social question, for we see that as long as the present competition and consequent slavery of the masses exist, life must be ugly, and the instinct for the cultivation of the beautiful must decline.

6. Modern art is to an alarming extent abandoning the pursuit of the beautiful and the good, to devote itself to the portrayal of the real, the ugly, and even the gross and sensual. Though many of the conventions of the past are

now seen to be silly, yet there is no occasion to rush to an opposite extreme which must mean the decline if not the ruin of art.

7. The proportion of born artists in any generation is small, and yet so large a number now rush into art that every sort of uncouth trickery with the brush is resorted to in order to draw attention to thousands of pictures which are essentially worthless. Competition in art thus encourages tendencies making for its decline.

8. "The world is everywhere growing uglier and more commonplace."—*Wm. Morris.*

9. If we look at the subject with the aid of history, we see that there has been a steady decline in art since the great days of Greece. Mr. Palgrave justly points out that we need only go to the British Museum and look at the Greek vases to be convinced that "A hundred nameless potters have here rivalled our selectest draughtsmen: Leonardo, Dürer, or Flaxman."

NO

1. The taste of the people is slowly but distinctly rising, with the result that in order to make goods sell an increasing regard must be paid to the artistic quality of the goods, and thus even our prosaic commercial spirit develops the artistic sense indirectly.

2. Although the present inequality of men has many deplorable elements in it, yet it has this good effect that it creates a wealthy leisured class who thereby become the natural patrons of art.

3. The art movement which condemns machinery is essentially reactionary, an impossible longing for the old times.

4. If England were to give up the commercial ideal and attempt to adopt the artistic, she would almost certainly

go to the wall in competition with other nations. Commercialism is not so much a matter of choice as a stern necessity.

5. There is at present a keen revival of art among us, as is seen in the increasing taste for illustration in books, for good bindings and good printing, in the success of art journalism and the number of artists who manage to live well under the present conditions

6. Even the extremes of the so-called "decadent" school are indications of irrepressible artistic energy which must experiment before entering upon a new period of advance.

7. The keener the competition in art, the more certain is the development of a higher and better art in this country. The eagerness of the countless votaries of art is an indication of how strong is the life of the spirit of art among us.

8. There is every reason to believe that the ugliness of our age is but a passing phase. As further scientific advances are made, and electricity largely takes the place of steam, that which now can only be ugly will be capable of being made beautiful.

9. To point out that our art cannot be compared with that of Greece is not to prove that art is at present on the decline in England. That interest in art should be so widespread in these days of savage competition is a sign that there is in the nation a latent power of artistic development which is gradually learning to express itself.

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WHICH IS THE MORE HAPPY—A BARBARIAN OR A CIVILIZED MAN?

THE BARBARIAN

1. He has a breadth of freedom altogether unknown to a civilized man, and enjoys the unrestrained exercise of his natural powers.

2. His wants are simple, and he does not know the pain caused by all the artificial needs which civilization creates only to bitterly disappoint the majority of its victims.

3. He enjoys a high degree of natural health, and many of the diseases of civilization are wholly unknown to him.

4. His miseries commence when civilization meets him, when the ancient religion of his fathers is supplanted by a new religion which his method of thought does not enable him to understand, when his simple ways of life give place to the weary toil which civilization imposes on the labourer, when his natural morality is corrupted by contact with the loathsome vices civilization brings.

5. Civilization has failed to supply even the necessaries of life for great multitudes of men, and though it has heaped up riches for the enjoyment of the few, yet, on the whole, it has failed, and after all our enlightenment, we must sorrowfully come to the conclusion that the natural man is happier than we are.

6. In spite of all his superstitions and cruelty the barbarous man is not so impure nor so criminal on the whole as the civilized man. It seems indisputable that just in proportion as men crowd together in cities and enjoy the

benefits of civilization do they become vicious, depraved, enervated.

7. There is ambiguity in the use of the word "civilized." It is usually understood to refer to material benefits, such as railways, electric lights, telegraphs and the like; if this is all it means, then the barbarous man is in a sad condition, but if "civilized" can only be properly applied to a man whose moral character is on a level with or above his material surroundings, then the civilized man is condemned, for he often loses in moral character what he gains in material benefit.

8. What we call civilization is a system of life developed in a cold climate by a self-denying and hardy race deficient in sympathy and passion. We cannot realize how hard the demands and restrictions of our life are, except in the cases where we try to impose this so-called civilization on other races, when we usually find that it means death and racial extinction to them.

THE CIVILIZED MAN

1. The barbarian conception of freedom is a false one. True freedom is only found in the voluntary submission of one's own interest for the general good—a freedom for which civilization brings the opportunity.

2. The barbarian's wants may be few, but that means that his pleasures are also few. Civilization immensely increases the capacity for enjoyment which the race possesses, and it is to be expected that the capacity for pain should be increased at the same time.

3. Civilization has brought with it the triumph of the healing art, and now there are few varieties of pain which cannot be alleviated. The only hope of the barbarian when he suffers is to die.

4. Civilization brings to him the many blessings of the Gospel, the advantages of an ordered life and a regular means of subsistence, and a true morality which is not instinct only, but virtue.

5. The social problem is temporary in its nature, and is only the pain which necessarily accompanies the birth of a better time. In the meantime the civilized man has the advantage of the barbarian in the possession of the pleasures of thought, reflection, judgment, home, relationship, friendship, religion. Ignorance is never bliss, even though increasing knowledge should mean increasing pain.

6. It is doubtful if cities enervate men. Difficulties make men more manly and self-restrained, provided the difficulties are not so great as to crush them. In the case of barbarians, the conflict with nature is so arduous that it frequently crushes their spirit, *e.g.* the Esquimos. On the other hand, the most virile men are brought up in cities.

7. The moral character of the savage is often only the result of partial innocence, and as soon as the temptations of civilization approach him he succumbs. The moral character of the civilized man, however, is of real value, for it is tried in the fire.

8. This is true only to a certain extent. The barbarous races which overwhelmed the Roman Empire were not extinguished by contact with civilization, but permanently benefited and elevated. The Japanese constitute a modern instance, showing how a really virile race can receive the teaching of modern civilization and develop under its influence.

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SHOULD THE FRANCHISE BE EXTENDED TO WOMEN?

YES

1. It is a fundamental principle of English justice that there should be no taxation without representation.

2. On the authority of so great a thinker as J. S. Mill the only differentiation in the granting of the franchise should be upon the basis of education. But the vote is denied to the most highly educated woman, while it is granted to the most ignorant man.

3. If the qualification be one of property, again woman's claim is as great as that of man. A large woman landholder with an enormous stake in the country is unrepresented, while her gardener with hardly any has the vote.

4. There are many pressing problems of the day with which women are more competent to deal than men. The housing problem, women workers in factories, are examples, whilst there are many more in which the co-operation of women is most desirable, notably eugenics.

5. Men are systematically selfish in their politics at the expense of women, a state of affairs which can only be remedied by granting the vote. Evils from which women only or mainly suffer are callously passed over. And there are gross inequalities in legislation, notably in the divorce laws.

6. A woman may succeed to the throne. She may vote in municipal and school-board elections, and may even be elected. It is, therefore, illogical to refuse her the parliamentary vote.

7. The history of civilization is the history of the gradual emancipation of woman. From being a mere household chattel she has attained to the dignity of a human being, and in theory at all events has now equal rights before the law. The refusal of the franchise now that she demands it is, therefore, reactionary.

8. It is probably untrue, and at any rate irrelevant, to say that the majority of women are indifferent to the vote. There is a mass of evidence of the persistent growth of the demand since Mary Wollstonecraft started it in this country in 1792. And will anybody assert that the majority of agricultural labourers were clamouring for the vote at the time it was extended to them?

9. Women are every day challenging men in fields of activity hitherto closed to them, and are proving their equality and frequently their superiority.

10. Women are brought up upon an entirely false principle. They are over-sexed, taught to regard marriage as the one object of their lives, and discouraged in the development of their intelligence. Man is now seeking to make use of this state of affairs, for which he alone is responsible, as an argument wherewith to defeat the just demands of woman. If it be true that woman is intellectually the inferior of man, then man is to blame, since he created the system to which this is due, and it is his duty forthwith to apply the remedy by abolishing the system. The grant of the franchise is the first and most important step in this direction.

NO

1. Women are not without representation. Through their influence over husbands and children, they have ample means of making their voice heard in politics.

2 and 3. The basis of education and that of property are not the only ones to be considered. Woman is mentally unfitted for the franchise. She acts upon instinct and not upon reason. In politics reason is required. Woman is also apt to be carried away by sentiment, and for physical reasons is peculiarly liable to hysteria. At such times she is incapable of reason and of justice. A logical consequence of granting the vote would be her service upon juries, for which for these reasons she is unfitted.

4. This is admitted, but women are in no way debarred from this sphere of usefulness which would not be enlarged by their admission to the franchise. On the contrary, they are better able to perform these duties when they are cut off from the turmoil of politics and from the party warfare politics involve.

5. However this may have been in the past, it is not so now. Legislation nowadays is most favourable to women. The Trades Boards Act, for example, deals particularly with trades in which women were underpaid. Moreover, in the administration of the law, women are most favourably dealt with, as witness the leniency shown to the outrages of militant suffragettes.

6. The succession to the throne, especially under a constitutional monarchy, is decided upon entirely different grounds.

7. Government depends finally upon physical force. The submission of questions to a vote is only civilization's substitute for force. Women are far more numerous than men, and to give them the vote would be for one thing illogical, and for another dangerous, since the physically stronger, but numerically weaker, party might rebel.

8. The majority of women and the best types of women do not want the vote. No analogy can be drawn from the agricultural labourers before the reform bills or slaves in

the Southern States, since these were ignorant people incapable of judging what was for their own good.

9. The sexes have been evolved to perform different functions. Politics are a part of man's functions, and the fact that it always has been so is proof of this. It is reactionary to set women to do men's work, or both sexes to do the same work.

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OUGHT WE TO BOARD OUT OUR PAUPER CHILDREN?

YES

1. Under this system a child is given a place in a family, and as he grows up he learns a trade, and does not feel that he is cut off from other children, as he is apt to feel in an institution.

2. The children may not obtain quite so much direct instruction as they do in an institution, but they obtain a more than compensating amount of practical instruction in the details of family life and work.

3. The girls especially gain a practical acquaintance with the science of home management which they usually fail to obtain in an institution.

4. Large institutions are not wise, because they bring together so many children that the spread of any disease, physical or moral, is thereby facilitated. It is much wiser to separate these cases of destitution as widely as possible under a boarding-out system.

5. This system has been very successfully worked in France, Germany, Australia, and to a considerable extent in England, and, where there has been failure, it can be attributed to matters of detail, but not to the principle, which is radically sound.

6. Institutions must be managed by a code of rules, with the usual result that the feeling of individual liberty and initiative is crushed out of the children by a cast-iron militarism. This treatment usually weakens children, and

makes them quite unfit for the rough experiences of life; everything is provided for them, and they learn to provide nothing for themselves.

7. "When we find nations differing in origin, living under various forms of government, and educated in divergent religious beliefs, seeking to solve a difficult social problem, and all of them, without preconcerted action or special communication, lighting on one and the same solution, we may safely conclude that that solution must be the best, based in the universal needs of our common human nature, asserting themselves above all temporary and external differences of creed and politics, country and race."[1]

NO

1. "The payment of 4*s*. a week, with the cost of school funds, clothing, and medical attendance, places the child of the pauper in a better condition than the child of the labourer, the foster-parent, who seldom has 4*s*. to spend on one child." This fact is noted, and thrift thereby is discouraged.

2. There are much more effective means of educating the children in institutions, and this matter of sound education is much more important than practical acquaintance with perhaps a badly managed household.

3. The general advantages of family life are only secured at an immense sacrifice of greater advantages available in institutions, where wise management and routine are a constant and steady discipline.

4. By providing so pleasantly for destitute children the boarding-out system tends to encourage illegitimacy and improvident marriages.

5. Adequate supervision of the children who are boarded

[1] *Children of the State*

out is practically impossible, and, though the system may work well enough in the case of conscientious foster-parents, yet there is a dangerous opportunity given for the growth of grave evils.

6. The life in institutions, from its order and method, trains the children in a practical way for a regularly ordered life. It has as good an effect upon abandoned children as a military training has upon abandoned men.

7. This argument applies equally well to institutions, for these flourish in every civilized country and accomplish incalculable good every year.

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SHOULD CAPITAL PUNISHMENT BE ABOLISHED?

NO

1. Society has a moral right to inflict the death penalty if a strong case of necessity can be made out.

2. No punishment is so deterrent as death.

(*a*) Though death may happen at any time, yet in most men's minds the possibility is usually considered pretty remote; but in the case of contemplated murder a man knows that he has certain death before him, and the deterrent effect of this close prospect of the gallows is very marked.

(*b*) Crimes visited with capital punishment are rarely committed in sudden fury, for there is ample provision for these crimes in the law of manslaughter. In the other case, where the fury gradually grows upon a man, the consciousness that capital punishment is part of the law acts as a steady deterrent.

(*c*) The mental sufferings of the condemned are not altogether secret, for his relatives see them, and besides, the imagination of the public invests the gallows with even a greater horror than it possesses. All this constitutes a powerful and widespread check upon crime.

(*d*) The only alternative which can be suggested is perpetual imprisonment, and this is not nearly so deterrent as capital punishment, because a convict never realizes what is meant by perpetual imprisor

ment, and always has the hope that something will happen to set him free.

3. There are tolerably secure guarantees under present conditions against the infliction of the death penalty upon the innocent. The knowledge that any miscarriage of justice is irreparable secures that great care is taken both by the public and the court that the proof of guilt is satisfactory. If life imprisonment were to be substituted for the capital sentence, then this minute care would not be uniformly taken, because the life sentence can be modified at any time, yet a sentence which can at any time be reversed is usually never reversed at all.

4. Capital punishment is more reformative than perpetual imprisonment. The prospect of imminent death usually brings the criminal to repentance, whereas perpetual imprisonment only hardens him.

5. Capital punishment alone satisfies the natural desire for retribution felt both by the relatives of the victim and by the public. Mill says that "rulers show most emphatically their regard for human life by the adoption of a rule that he who violates that right in another shall forfeit it for himself, and that while no other crime that he can commit shall deprive him of his right to live, this—the wilfully taking away life—shall." A resolute effort is made by legal tribunals to compel the plaintiff to abandon his private desire for revenge, and to place his case in the hands of the law; the law having taken this responsibility must discharge it by the infliction of the death penalty where fully deserved.

6. Statistical arguments against capital punishment are not trustworthy, because there are so many different kinds of cases and so many varying degrees of guilt that to arrive at accurate statistics for establishing a case against the infliction of capital punishment is out of the question.

YES

1. Crime is a disease, and all punishment should be reformatory in character.

2. The teaching of history leads us inevitably to the conclusion that the death penalty is not deterrent; in the days when men were hanged for theft, crime was more prevalent than it is now.

(*a*) Death may happen at any time, and as this fact does not materially influence us in our saner moments, how can we expect it to deter criminals acting under a powerful passion?

(*b*) Murders, whether premeditated or not, are always committed by a man when he is labouring under an irresistible passion. Under these circumstances nothing will deter him; intelligent and sympathetic moral training is the only deterrent.

(*c*) The mental agony of the condemned is endured in secret, and as the public can never know the horror of his remorse, it can have no deterrent effect upon future murderers.

(*d*) It must be admitted that our present system of penal servitude has as little deterrent effect as hanging, but it has been abundantly proved at such institutions as the Elmira State Reformatory that under enlightened discipline and education a criminal can be gradually developed into a useful citizen.

3. It is greatly to be feared that more often than we imagine has an innocent man been hanged. Circumstantial evidence is not reliable, and though this fact is generally admitted, prisoners are freely condemned upon evidence which the best legal experts admit to be essentially dubious.

4. Capital punishment is not reformative at all, but is merely retributive. All possibility of making some atonement for his past is violently taken away from the prisoner,

and time is left him only for a sentimental, not for a practical, repentance. The only existing alternative is penal servitude for life, which is equally barbarous, but it is not the only possible alternative.

5. This is merely the old-world cry of blood for blood, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. It is time the world was outgrowing this discredited cry. Vengeance is not justice, even when it is exacted by the State. As long as the State sets this example of vengeance, it will be impossible to teach the people higher principles.

6. Statistics prove beyond doubt that capital punishment has failed in its purpose, and has only succeeded in dignifying crime with the name of tragedy. The severer the penalty is made, the more crime increases; never was crime more prevalent than in the Middle Ages, and never were the penalties for crime more ferocious. Belief in the efficacy of capital punishment must pass away as a superstition of barbarism.

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DO CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETIES DO GOOD OR HARM?[1]

GOOD

1. The present methods of assisting the poor are so multifarious, having different objects and different ways of working. that through their competition much philanthropic energy is wasted, and there is great need of that co-ordination and concentration of effort which it is the aim of charity organization societies to effect.

2. The relief of the poor must be put upon scientific lines, or the result is that the poor are as often pauperised as really assisted. It is generally admitted that the old methods of relief do almost as much harm as good for want of intelligence and thorough scientific treatment of the cases. It is this need and this defect with which these societies successfully deal.

3. Their unpopularity among the poor is just an indication of their success, for it shows that the idle and vicious do not get the encouragement they too often receive under private, miscellaneous charity. Any effective, discriminating treatment of the poor is sure to be unpopular, just because it is effective and discriminating.

4. The societies have achieved extraordinary success, considering that it is the very worst cases which are usually sent to them.

5. The associated charities are not responsible for the

[1] These arguments are largely drawn from *The Encyclopædia of Social Reform*. Edited by W. D. P. Bliss, 1897.

present social system, and though it is impossible to eliminate all abuse from the administration of charity, yet the organization societies are doing the best relief work possible under the present conditions, and they are steadily becoming more effective.

HARM

1. These societies do not go to the root of the evil, which is the present severe social inequality, and they supply an easy way for the well-to-do to salve their consciences, and quietly to adopt a *laissez-faire* attitude towards the social question,—it is so easy and meritorious to contribute to the funds of a society.

2. These societies come between the rich and the poor, and prevent that direct knowledge and personal dealing which are so essential, and introduce instead a system of red-tape and suspicion.

3. The investigation of cases leads to much injustice, as the visitors often do not realize the economic conditions of the life of the poor, and make arbitrary distinctions between deserving and undeserving cases. It is forgotten that the poor are sensitive, and resent the intrusion of these visitors into the private details of their family life. Patronising philanthropy is almost as odious as ostentatious piety.

4. These societies, by constantly urging the poor to self-help, are holding up a standard of individualism which is impossible and reactionary, and tend to blind the community to the real economic trouble.

5. There should be no need of alms, but efforts should be made to bring about conditions under which all can obtain work. The rich really live upon the work of the poor, and for these rich, without attempting to alter the present conditions, to exhort the poor to self-help is an insult and a mockery.

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ARE THE CHURCHES ON THE DOWN GRADE?

YES

1. The shrewdest members of the Congregational body admit that their denomination is not really advancing; there is a want of enthusiasm, old historic chapels are decaying, and there are very few able men to fill vacancies.

2. The Baptists also are decreasing. The greatest Baptist, Mr. Spurgeon, saw this plainly before he died.

3. Wesleyans were never less aggressive than at present, and though the West London Mission is a great success, the leading men are very few, and the others lag so far behind as to fall out of all comparison.

4. Presbyterianism is falling between two stools: on the one hand there is a marked tendency to imitate the Church of England, and on the other to affirm a strongly Nonconformist position. Their churches are founded mostly in well-to-do suburban neighbourhoods, and very little real work is done among the poor.

5. If the Church of England is gaining, it is largely at the expense of Nonconformity, for the masses are becoming daily more alienated from a Church which exhorts them so fervently to patience and humility, and does so little for the bettering of their condition. Even among the classes the Church has but little effect — meanness, selfishness and profligacy are not restrained, for the ethical teaching of Christ is so limply preached.

6. Advanced thought is so universal among the clergy that they cannot conceal from the people that they no longer hold their creeds to be the expression of truth. There is thus a want of honesty among the clergy balanced by a want of confidence among the people, while the churches are becoming more empty every year.

7. Men are also beginning to see that the really enlightened social work is being done very largely outside the churches. The clergy talk as much as ever, but quieter and more earnest men are doing the work which is slowly changing the selfish spirit of the age.

8. It is being more and more gravely debated whether ecclesiasticism is necessary to Christianity. Men of the highest character are found everywhere who never enter a church, while the church is full of men who in their business are quite ready to sacrifice the plainest dictates of conscience for the sake of money. The difficulty the churches are feeling in getting the pews filled is seen in their complicated and over-advertised machinery of lectures, concerts and infinite tea. Prayer meetings, on the other hand, are at a discount, for men want not more prayer offered, but more work done,—*laborare est orare.*

NO

1. The position of Congregationalism is very hard to judge, because there are no statistics of membership. The only statistics available are those of the Church Aid Society, and the churches with which it deals are the poorest, yet these are increasing.

2. Baptist statistics are not complete, and give no reliable data; but it is clear that Mr. Spurgeon and the Pastors' College have added enormously to the body. In West London Dr. Clifford is an immense power, and Mr.

F. B. Meyer's work is another proof of the energy of the Baptists.

3. The Wesleyans have had a hard fight, for conservatism is so strong among them. The battle between the two sections has been fierce, and many have joined the Church of England. The Forward Movement, however, is a great reality, and shows that there is still plenty of life in the body.

4. The Presbyterian Church has made wonderful pro gress in the last twenty-five years, the tradition of its preaching is well kept up, and it has a most successful mission in China for which large sums are raised.

5. The Church of England is undoubtedly gaining, but it is not at the expense of Nonconformity. The West End was never Nonconformist, yet its churches are crowded. Everywhere there is revival. Even the country churches, which have long stagnated, are undertaking many varieties of useful work.

6. Theology must advance as men see deeper into the meaning of Scripture and life, and though some old positions are being slowly abandoned, these are found to be mere outworks, and the heart of the Gospel is held more firmly than ever. Our great preachers teach the fundamentals of the faith in a most unmistakable manner.

7. If the matter were carefully inquired into, it would be found that the great majority of the contributions which support charitable work of all sorts come from within the churches. Mr. Stead says, "The fund of altruistic service outside the churches is much smaller than at one time I believed it to be."

8. It is through the work of the churches that the burden of humanity is pressing even upon those who never suffer themselves. The day of universal sympathy and brotherhood is coming fast, and though the Church contains feeble

members, yet the teaching puts them to shame, and steadily appeals to what is best in the heart of man. The Church does well to attend to recreation, for it must do something for the young life within its walls. Even under the stress of all the difficulties created by modern thought and criticism the churches will not collapse, but will unite and become once more the chief factor in the nation's progress.

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OUGHT THE CHURCH TO ADVOCATE SOCIAL REFORM?

YES

1. Christ's chief work was among the poor and needy, and unless the Church catches His spirit in deed as well as in word, she cannot claim to be His representative.

2. The kingdom which Christ came to establish was a kingdom of righteousness, and that kingdom evidently cannot be established unless the many injustices and tyrannies of our present social condition be remedied, and the Church cannot hope to remedy these abuses if she ignores them.

3. Christ taught the brotherhood of man not in an ideal, but in a practical sense, and this brotherhood cannot be reached apart from social reform.

4. Christ made such strenuous attacks upon hypocrisy and formality, and laid such stress upon practical righteousness, that it is evidently the Church's first duty to interest herself in questions of practical, social righteousness, and these matters should be considered of more importance than formal public worship.

5. The very fact that the question is raised at all shows how far the Church has wandered from the teaching of Christ, and how little she represents His Spirit.

6. If the present condition of things is in accordance with irrevocable laws of political economy, and any alteration would mean ruin, then it should be boldly confessed

that Christ's ideal is visionary and has little meaning for modern life.

NO

1. The Church recognises that her chief work is among the poor, and has always been the first to represent their claims and to initiate philanthropic effort: but

2. The only way to make a perfect society is to make perfect men and women, and thus the Church should not so much address herself to external social conditions as to inward spiritual conditions.

3. Society as a whole will never be perfected—the kingdoms of this world are to be destroyed and to be replaced by the kingdom of heaven. The State does not, and cannot, exist on Christian principles. Christ Himself said, "My kingdom is not of this world."

4. Christ was really an individualist; His message was to the individual, and therefore individual holiness is the first aim of the Church.

5. Christian Socialists forget the doctrine of the second Advent, when this world is to be destroyed and only the redeemed saved out of it. We can at best, therefore, only hope for partial social reform, brought about by individual goodness.

6. Christian Socialists are apt to forget the reign of law. There is no danger greater than this, that by means of glowing and ill-considered rhetoric the mass of the people may be led to hope for a state of society impossible in view of the laws of nature. If the Church is to take an interest in social reform, good can only result from careful, scientific thinking and investigating, and only evil can result from indulgence in popular rhetoric. If these contentions are true, it is plain that the Church is wise if she keep herself to her true spiritual work.

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IS THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH TO BLAME FOR HAVING INCURRED THE ALIENATION OF WORKING MEN?

YES

1. Every effort to reach the facts establishes that the vast majority of the members and supporters of the churches are well-to-do people, while the percentage of working men who even attend churches is very small: it is also found that these working men uniformly declare that the churches show no practical sympathy with them, except in doling out a pittance of charity in place of justice.

2. Working men "are never weary of comparing the lives and salaries of modern ministers" with the life and salary of Christ: they also do not believe that clergymen say what they really think, but confine themselves to what they are supposed to think. For these and other reasons (*e.g.* the total failure of so many Christians to apply their creed to their lives) they believe the churches to be organized shams run in the interest of the upper classes. They claim that it is thus the Church's own fault that the working men are alienated from her.

3. They also compare the modern with the primitive Church, and show how the Church has become progressively "mammonized," until now she is half unconscious of the fact.

4. When working men are so remarkably agreed in criticising the Church on these and other lines, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that they have some justice on their side, and that the Church is to blame for having alienated them.

NO

1. It is not the fault of the Church that the working men are hostile, for the Church has initiated and supported the large majority of the philanthropic efforts of modern times, and in this way has practically shown her interest in the working classes.

2. It is one of the principles of Christianity that he who preaches the Gospel should live by the Gospel. As a matter of fact, the salaries of clergymen are not excessive, and even where they are, upon inquiry it would be found that a fair proportion is devoted to charity. The Church necessarily falls far short of her ideal, and the reason of this is not that the Church is unworthy, but that her ideal is so lofty. Working men themselves are to blame for separating themselves from the Church in this hypercritical manner.

3. The conditions of modern society are so different from those of ancient society that the same methods are no longer applicable. The Church must move with the times, and the fact that modern Church machinery differs from ancient is no condemnation of the modern, but merely an indication that the world has advanced.

4. The Church of Christ has hitherto survived all attacks, and she need not now fear the hostility of working men, knowing that that hostility is based upon a series of charges easily refutable, and that only patience is needed until these refutations sink into the minds of her opponents.

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IS MODERN CIVILIZATION A FAILURE?

Note.—The arguments given here are necessarily a very bare outline, and reference should be made to the literature of the question.

NO

1. Civilization has an irresistible tendency to refine men, beginning with the upper classes and spreading to the lower.

2. It increases the severity of the struggle for existence, and so calls forth the full faculties of an increasing number of men, to the benefit of the whole race.

3. We have only to compare the state of society to-day with what it used to be, and we cannot fail to see progress: the state of medicine proves this in regard to the body, of education in relation to the mind, and the state of public opinion in relation to morals.

4. As civilization increases, fewer and fewer people live in idleness, with the result that the whole character of life is raised.

5. As long as men have faith and hope, progress is possible.

YES

1. It has produced and fostered a cruel, calculating selfishness.

2. Civilization is unchristian in its very essence, for it encourages artificiality of life, hypocrisy, inequality, tyranny and misery.

3. It saps the basis of morality and manliness by giving rise to effeminacy, luxury and artificial vice.

4. Nothing can save society except a return to a simpler life.

5. The apparent improvement in society brought about by civilization is merely in external matters while the spirit of society is degenerating.

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OUGHT WE TO HAVE A CONSCRIPTION IN GREAT BRITAIN?

YES

1. History proves that a professional army is the best fighting machine for foreign service. The extraordinary success of Hannibal in Italy shows this, also the fact that when Rome entered upon her career of conquest her citizen army, through protracted campaigns away from home, developed naturally into a professional army. On this principle our army is unrivalled for foreign service. But the converse of this principle is also true, viz., that the best army for home defence is a citizen army. This can be seen in the Franco-German war, in which France owed it to the "Garde mobile" that she made so good a resistance to the Germans after Sedan; also in the resistance Rome made to Hannibal after three crushing defeats. It is plain, then, that Britain has not a sufficient force of citizen-soldiers to be effective in case of invasion.

2. The consequence is that in time of war a large portion of the professional army, which should be free to operate abroad, is detained at home to guard against invasion, and our power of offence and defence is seriously crippled.

3. If some form of conscription for home service were adopted, the effect would probably be to largely increase the recruiting for the territorials, and tend to make them more efficient.

4. Details must be left to experts, but it seems pretty

clear that British patriotism needs to be stirred by the adoption of some form of conscription before our home defences can be on a satisfactory basis.

5. Vast citizen armies make for peace, because war involves so great a sacrifice on the part of the majority of the nation that the people are very unwilling to vote for it.

6. There is great moral and educational value in military discipline. It strikes at the root of the timid epicureanism of modern times, welds a nation together, and mitigates the problem of paupers and the unemployed.

NO

1. As long as our navy is in its present efficient condition we need fear no invasion, and to try to keep up a force for our home defence is impossible, as well as unnecessary, in our present conditions of life.

2. Even if such a force were raised, the country would not have sufficient confidence in it, and as soon as war was declared there would be an irresistible popular demand for a sufficient force of the regular army to remain at home to give protection, and thus one great advantage of a citizen army would be lost.

3. On the Continent the system is felt to be very oppressive, and even though they are used to it they groan under it, and in Britain the plan would never be allowed to pass the House of Commons.

4. If the worst were to come there would be a *levée en masse*, and though it is difficult to get volunteers in time of peace, there would be enough and to spare in any time of real danger.

5. Though there is a high moral duty laid upon every man to hold himself in readiness to serve the State, yet it does not follow that every man can best serve the State by undergoing military training. If the number of soldiers is

sufficient for the necessities of the State, then a man serves best by engaging in commerce and contributing money for the support of the army.

6. Conscription would be so heavy a burden that it would lead to a very large emigration to the colonies and the United States of America, and we would lose many of our best citizens.

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IS CONSISTENCY A VICE OR A VIRTUE?

A VIRTUE

1. A change of mind is nearly always the result of some weakness of character, indicating either a slack grasp of a subject to start with or vacillation of purpose in adhering to a line of conduct.

2. A rolling stone gathers no moss. If a man changes his opinion or his occupation, he does not advance either in thought or towards the truth : he only yields to an irrational impulse.

3. Opinions to be of any value must grow. All summersaulting is self-deception. The man who is inconsistent shows that he is not growing by a steady development, but is merely losing his way in the world.

4. An inconsistent man is instinctively distrusted by his fellow-men, and there is sound reason at the bottom of this distrust, because if a man cannot remain faithful to one opinion, he is not likely to remain faithful to any other.

A VICE

1. To be inconsistent always requires a certain amount of courage, and many men are outwardly consistent in spite of change of inner conviction because they lack the courage to own their mistake.

2. It is only possible to approach the truth through a series of errors. It is impossible to know the truth at once by intuition, for the truth must be learned painfully. It appears, then, that the consistent man is one who is con-

tent to take his own first opinion as the truth, and refuses to believe that it was possible for him to make a mistake. Consistency is often a vice very closely allied to pride of mind.

3. All growth is change. Few men are suddenly inconsistent with their real selves, but many men grow out of an opinion, and when the change appears it seems sudden, though the way was preparing for it a long time before.

4. Many of the greatest men in the world have been inconsistent men at some time in their lives,—philosophers, statesmen, authors.

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OUGHT CONVENTUAL AND MONASTIC INSTITUTIONS TO BE INSPECTED?

YES

1. It is well known that much injustice, cruelty, and sometimes even crime, has existed in these institutions, and therefore it is the proper function of the Government to insist on inspecting them.

2. If there are no abuses in the institutions they ought not to fear inspection, but rather to court it in order to vindicate themselves from unfounded charges.

3. The whole testimony of history goes to show that these institutions have a fatal tendency to become nurseries of vice and of tyranny, and hence the necessity of inspection.

4. Unless monastic institutions are kept well in hand by the Government, they become too powerful. At the Reformation it was found necessary to sweep them away altogether, and the time may not be far distant when it will be necessary to have another Reformation in England if these institutions are allowed a perfectly free hand.

NO

1. The modern craze for inspection has gone to excessive lengths, until it infringes the rights of personal liberty. Methods of business are not inspected unless some known infraction of the law is made plain, and why then should monastic institutions be inspected merely on the basis of an unfounded and intolerant series of charges?

2. No one is compelled to enter them, and if inspection is insisted on, it will tend to upset the discipline of the house and unsettle the minds of the members. In fact,

since the object of these institutions is separation from the world, inspection would defeat this object.

3. Religious vows as well as views ought to be considered as beyond the jurisdiction of the State, as things holy and not rashly to be interfered with.

4. At the time of the Reformation men who were so timid in dogma rashly swept away the great female conventual institutions, which were of incalulable benefit in providing a useful outlet for the energies of good women, supplying them at the same time with protection and support. We want to-day a revival of these institutions purged of unnatural asceticism, and any legislation which discourages them is a mistake.

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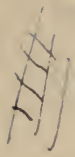

IS A COUNSEL JUSTIFIED IN DEFENDING A PRISONER OF WHOSE GUILT HE IS COGNIZANT?

YES

1. It is not only necessary that the evidence of the prisoner's guilt be conclusive, but the law he is accused of having violated must be distinct, and his case must fall distinctly under it. In short, it is not abstract justice which the counsel must consider, but the laws of England.

2. It is better that criminals should occasionally escape through faulty laws than that any irregularities should be permitted which would endanger the whole law of the country to the condemning of the innocent. It is an honourable employment for prisoner's counsel to see that no such irregularity occurs, even though he may be aware of the prisoner's guilt.

3. Counsel seldom can decide at the beginning of a case whether his client is innocent or not, and he does not accept a brief on condition of being convinced that the man he is defending is actually innocent, and therefore if he resigns the case when he discovers that his client is guilty, he is violating a trust reposed in him.

4. The arrangement is much to the benefit of society, because it secures that even the guilty have the opportunity of getting everything possible stated in their favour, and what thus has such happy results in experience cannot be morally wrong.

5. It is the duty of counsel, as Lord Brougham de-

clared, "to know no one but his client, to believe none other, and to do his best for him regardless of consequences."

6. The present is the only practical method, and if it were abandoned, great injustice would immediately result. It is securely based upon the principle of mercy in justice.

7. If all counsel were to give up cases as soon as they believed in their clients' guilt—the case probably being in an advanced stage—it would mean certain condemnation for the clients, and all the time counsel might be mistaken.

NO

1. "Shall we do evil that good may come?"

2. The function of counsel is only to protect the accused when innocent, and, if he shelter him when he knows he is guilty, then he is acting a lie.

3. In a criminal case the advocate, in defending known guilt, becomes thereby an accomplice—thus a non-professional accomplice is punished and an advocate-accomplice is not. As Bentham says, "What the non-advocate is hanged for the advocate is paid for and admired" (*Works*, vol. vi. 350).

4. The advocate is himself a citizen, and in this capacity is bound to maintain and assist the law as he knows it, and not to endeavour to thwart it.

5. This practice results in positive evil, for it is well known that great criminals have often escaped through the skilful yet insincere pleading of counsel.

6. The principle is Machiavellian, and cannot but be a great injury to the character of the advocate.

7. The practice has a bad effect upon society, because it degrades justice into a competition of skill.

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SHALL WE DISESTABLISH AND DISENDOW THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND?

ARGUMENTS IN FAVOUR OF DISESTABLISHMENT

1. Where an intimate union of Church and State exists, "instead of the Church spiritualising the State, the State secularises the Church."—*Sir G. C. Lewis.*

2. The national unity of faith which was once expressed by a State Church no longer exists.

3. A State Church cannot exist without religious, social and financial inequality.

4. A Church can never be a free and independent moral force while it is supported by the State. The clergy come to regard themselves as the paid advocates of the Government, and consequently support current abuses, resist reforms, or at best abstain from just criticism.

5. If the State Church were disestablished it would grow immensely and probably absorb Nonconformity.

6. The Established Church is not even the Church of the majority, and its members are relatively diminishing.

7. It is useless to make any attempt at union amongst the different Churches while one of them has an unfair advantage over the others.

8. A State Church from its organisation is almost bound to be a political machine. As such it exercises a tyrannical influence over life and thought, especially in rural districts.

9. The machinery of a State Church being very cumber-

some, and many conflicting interests being involved, it is very difficult for it to reform itself. It cannot easily revise its tests to keep pace with the progress of knowledge and of religious feeling, and yet it wishes to attract all within its boundaries. Hence it arises that while demanding tests, it has practically no creed at all, thus directly encouraging insincerity.

10. The congregation in a State Church are powerless. They cannot choose and they cannot get rid of their clergymen, unless for some most serious offence.

11. A State Church which has absorbed so much national wealth as the English Establishment is an attraction to indolent pastors who wish for a share of the loaves and fishes on easy terms.

12. An Established Church, such as we have in England, is contrary to the spirit and letter of the teaching of Christ. (See Matt. xx. 25–28; Luke xiv. 25–27; Matt. x. 6–42, and many other similar passages.)

ARGUMENTS FOR DISENDOWMENT

1. The property given to the State Church was meant for the national benefit. It is therefore wrong to devote it mostly to one sect. Most of its endowments were Roman Catholic, and the State appropriated them. The others were given to it while it still had the right to be called the National Protestant Church. A Church should justify its existence by its power of self-support.

2. Tithes were imposed by the State for the support of a national Church, and should revert to the State in case of disestablishment.

3. A more moderate proposal is to give the Church, on disestablishment, a certain number of years' purchase of her revenues.

4. All these difficulties were brought forward on the

occasion of the disestablishment of the Irish Church, and yet that measure has proved a great success.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST DISESTABLISHMENT

1. A State Church is the guardian of the spiritual interests of the State. The State would inevitably become irreligious, not to say materialistic, without this active representative of religion and morals.

2. It is a great advantage that every person in the land, whatever faith he profess, can demand the spiritual services of the clergy of the State Church.

3. Were the Church to be disestablished and lose her wealth and her dignity, the cause of religion, of morals, and of education, would suffer.

4. Other institutions besides the Church would begin to crumble were disestablishment to take place. The Church is the great teacher of order and submission to the properly constituted authorities, and this steadying influence is particularly needed in these days of social utopias and rash reform.

5. The Church, if disestablished, would have to contract her sphere of operations, religious, moral, educational and charitable, and the whole country, especially the poorer communities, would feel the difference.

6. The Church is no longer apathetic, but has renewed its lease of life, and the energy of its clergy is not only rapidly increasing its influence, but is also stopping the progress of dissent.

7. The conflict between the Churches would only be the sharper were all placed upon the same footing.

8. The power, prestige and wealth of the Church have always attracted men of education and culture within it. Such men are often the only civilizing agencies in a parish.

9. The connection between Church and State is a

guarantee that no tests impossible to the general sentiment of the country will be imposed upon its members. Thus the religion of a State Church is broad and comprehensive.

10. The Anglican clergy have a fairly independent position, and are not at the mercy of the prejudices and caprices of their congregations.

11. The Established Church, while duly inculcating the faithful performance of pastoral duty, has been able to encourage learning and scholarship among its clergymen, by placing them beyond the reach of material cares.

12. Christ came to found a Church, and the Established Church can trace its descent right back to the primitive Church founded by the apostles and their immediate successors. It would be impossible and undesirable for modern clergymen to try to imitate the simplicity of the early apostles.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST DISENDOWMENT

1. All the endowments of the Church of England are its own by clear title. To take them away would be dishonest spoliation.

2. It is the duty of the State to protect the rights of property, and one of its first duties, therefore, manifestly is to secure to the State Church its endowments.

3. The property of the Church was not conferred upon her by the State, but by devout individuals; the State, therefore, can have no possible right to disendow the Church.

4. Disendowment would create more difficulties than it would remedy, for there would be a strong objection to public buildings, like cathedrals, being owned by a sect, and there would be stronger objection to paying over to the Church the heavy compensation which would be demanded.

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DOES MODERN DRESS NEED REFORM?

YES

1. The present dress of men is ugly and irrational, not being arranged on any reasonable theory either as regards warmth, modesty or elegance.

2. It affords very small opportunity for variety in taste, and hence tends to reduce all men to one dead level, which is a great evil.

3. There has been a regrettable deterioration in the dress of men, and in consequence a great deal of the brightness, variety, and colour, has been taken out of life.

4. Both the athlete and the brain-worker naturally refuse to wear tight-fitting clothes, and the experience of men all tends to show that these tight-fitting clothes are a mistake. We might learn a valuable lesson from the costume of Eastern countries.

5. It is only the fear of being thought eccentric which prevents men from following a more reasonable taste in their dress. If it were not for this fear the wearing of knickerbockers would become almost universal, and the reign of baggy trousers would come to an end, and we should never see the tall hat any more.

6. The dress of women is irrational and inconvenient, and now that they are taking their place in the struggle for existence, they must have some less hampering clothing.

7. Taste and prejudice in dress are admittedly matters of custom, and if any considerable body of women were

to lead the way, there would soon arise a taste or prejudice in favour of rational dress for women.

NO

1. Any change is now practically impossible. We are so much under the dominion of the present style of dress, and it is so universally adopted that it has become a badge of civilization, and cannot be altered. Even heathen nations as they become civilized begin to throw aside their picturesque costumes to adopt ours.

2. It is not the dress that has affected the taste, but the taste the dress. It is because we have so little variety in our taste that our dress is so uniform, and this general uniformity is a phenomenon that civilization always tends to produce.

3. Any recurrence to a former and more picturesque style is impossible on the score of expense alone. The days when men would spend as much as £20 on a single shirt are happily over, and it is not probable that men will ever again be hampered by a cumbrous frill around their necks.

4. The dress of man is steadily becoming easier, and the chief thing that prevents more rapid progress is the extremes to which faddists and reformers usually go.

5. As it is, men's dress is very well adapted to their life. The only faults which can be found with it are the stiff collars and hats, and the sad uniformity of the black colour.

6. The present dress of women is the result of a long development, and cannot be set aside at the bidding of a few faddists. Modern women's clothing may be somewhat hampering, but not to any serious extent, while it has reached a wonderful degree of beauty and elegance.

7. Great efforts have been made to introduce dress

reform, but without success; the extremists who advocate it are usually regarded with a wholesome dislike.

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SHOULD THE DRINK TRAFFIC BE NATIONALIZED?

YES

1. Under present conditions there is so powerful and wealthy a class in the country vitally interested in the maintenance of the drink traffic that all efforts at radical reform are frustrated: if, however, the Government took over the whole traffic into its own hands, then reforms would be much more easily introduced, because private interest would not conflict with public duty.

2. In Government hands all profits resulting would be devoted to the national welfare, and thus some modicum of good would be extracted from the evil.

3. The competition at present existing in the drink trade has driven the producers to extensive adulteration. Under Government control this adulteration would cease.

4. There would be no more injustice in the Government allowing no competition in its control of the liquor traffic than there is in its allowing no competition in the carrying of the mails.

5. The conditions of those employed in breweries and in bars would be greatly improved if the traffic were under Government management.

NO

1. Now it is only the interest of a comparatively small class of the community to maintain the drink traffic; but if

this traffic were nationalized, then the whole nation would have a financial interest in keeping it up, and reform would be out of the question.

2. If this scheme were carried out the whole nation would be put in the position of hypocrites, for they would take over the drink traffic nominally for the sake of reform, and yet the only result would be that they would make a handsome profit out of it.

3. Competition has the effect of making public services more efficient. There is just as likely to be adulteration under the official control of Government as there is under private trade. Efforts to restrain the efficient service of one of the staples of life manifestly emanate from a blind fanaticism which sees only one half round a subject.

4. So many vested interests have grown around this traffic that it would be a glaring injustice to nationalize the industry without adequate compensation, and if adequate compensation were given, the expense would be ruinous to the country. There is no analogy in the Post Office, because this has been managed by Government practically from the beginning.

5. Private companies treat their servants well, as it is plainly in their interest to do, and these would not be better off under Government control.

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TAXATION OF LAND VALUES AND THE SINGLE TAX

FOR

1. The right to occupy land is on the same footing as the right to live. It is a natural right. The land, for this reason, and also because it must originally have done so, belongs to all the people of a country. It is nobody's business, therefore, to interfere with their enjoyment of it by fixing and exacting rents.

2. It is true that the predecessors of modern landlords had the *power* to convey and bequeath the land, but this is not the same thing as the *right* to do so. You cannot acquire a right to do a wrong. Herbert Spencer asks: "At what rate per annum does wrong become right?"

3. Land is essentially on a different footing from other property, since it is limited in quantity, and yet the use of it, directly or indirectly, is necessary for every human enterprise. It is idle to argue that land is always for sale. It is not always for sale where it is wanted; and if it is so to be had, the price is probably exorbitant.

4. The suggestion of purchase and compensation ignores the whole principle of the argument, which is that the whole people own all the land. (The peasant proprietor is as much to be condemned as the greatest landowner.) To restore this ownership it is only necessary to impose a tax up to the full rental value, and not to interfere in any way with possession. This course would result in immense benefit to the whole community, since all other taxes might be forthwith remitted.

AGAINST

1. Acquisition of ownership by long occupation is everywhere admitted as both legally and morally right. Henry George himself says: "There is no middle course. Either the land belongs to the people or to the landlord;" and therefore, on the above admitted principle, the rights of ownership are indisputable. 1. Everything comes in the first instance from the land, and to carry this argument to its logical conclusion would be to deny the right of ownership in personal property as well.

2. As far back as the feudal times the notion that land was the common property of all had disappeared, and though ownership was in a sense unknown, since holders were only lessees, still they held not from the nation, but from the crown.

3. Property in land is nevertheless property, and to single out one form of property for taxation is unjust upon any ground. Properly safeguarded expropriation laws, providing full compensation, would meet any real difficulties arising from the scarcity of land.

4. The single tax is a delusion, and there is no proof that it would accomplish what is promised for it. Even supposing that it did so, and all other taxes were abolished, it is more than doubtful if the people would benefit. The argument that other taxes had no longer to be paid would be used to lower wages.

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SHOULD PARLIAMENT ENACT AN EIGHT HOURS WORKING DAY?

YES

1. The hours of work are now so excessively long that the physical condition of the whole working classes is steadily declining.

2. The factory system and the excessive subdivision of labour have made the labour of the working classes so monotonous that unless some means is taken to secure to them adequate leisure they become brutalized, and the intelligence of the class degenerates.

3. This lack of intelligence becomes a serious matter in view of the fact that more and more political power is passing into the hands of the working classes: if this power is not used intelligently by them, the result must be social disaster.

4. The hours of labour are so long that the working classes know practically nothing of family life, and the natural result is a moral decline: when the life of working men becomes hard and hopeless, it is only to be expected that they will take to drink.

5. This reform is found to be economically advantageous because it prevents over-production, tends to increase wages and thus, by making the working classes able to buy more, enlarges the market. The theories of some political economists have led them to expect a decrease of wages and a failing market from shorter hours, but facts all testify against them.

6. When competition is left to itself the evils of over-production, the unemployed, commercial crises and panics result,—the short-hour system supplies a remedy, and is generally acknowledged by an ever-increasing number of economists to be an economic necessity.

7. The general contentions of those in favour of an eight hours working day are proved by the great fact that British commerce has increased by leaps and bounds since the introduction of restrictions upon labour such as the Factory Acts and the like. Woful predictions were made when these Acts were passed, yet the result has been for the good of the community.

8. No one who is familiar with the sterling worth of many of our working men—our Northumberland miners or the weavers of Yorkshire and Lancashire—will contend that the effect of shorter hours can be anything but favourable. In any case workmen cannot be taught to use leisure rightly as long as they have no leisure to use.

9. If the law does not step in and secure this reform, then the men themselves will obtain it by means of combinations and strikes, which are disastrous to the community.

10. If it is asked, Why should a man be prevented from working as long as he likes? the answer is that no one wishes to prevent him, so long as his action does not compel others to work longer than they like. Modern industrial legislation is not tyranny, but the will of the people taking effect to prevent the tyranny of individual selfishness.

NO

1. A legal eight-hour working day would produce worse evils than those it pretends to cure. There would be a loss of liberty both on the part of employers and employed,

for which even a better physical condition would be no compensation.

2. A decrease in the hours of labour can only mean a fall in the amount of wages and a decrease of the output of factories, with a consequent further stagnation of trade.

3. Sentimental arguments cannot be allowed to weigh against the fact that if we reduce the hours of labour to eight by Act of Parliament, then we should be in an unfavourable condition compared to those nations who would not follow our example.

4. The growing power of the working classes is a grave political danger, and if more leisure were given them, then their mischievous political influence would only be increased, and society would be convulsed by socialistic agitation.

5. If the working classes had more leisure they would drink the more, and often the only thing that now saves them is the necessity for hard work.

6. Competition has produced our present commercial supremacy, and the condition of our further progress is the unfettered working of this same individual competition. All grandmotherly legislation only stands in the way of progress.

7. The prevention of some of the worst forms of factory tyranny was a good thing, but that does not mean that we should push matters to an extreme, and adopt an eight-hour day. Taken at its best, the eight-hour day is wholly inadequate as a reform, for socialists see that it is only part of a larger movement, and by itself cannot meet the evils of the social condition of the masses. It is plain, therefore, that this movement for an eight-hour day is only the thin end of the wedge, and should be resisted by all who are dismayed at the prospect of an imminent socialism.

8. "We must remember the prevalent fallacy that the limitation of labour raises its price, and transfers some of the master's profits to the workman's pockets. To lessen the day's labour by one hour is to lessen the supply of labour by one-ninth or one-tenth part, and to the same extent to waste the efficiency of all machinery, and of the fixed capital connected therewith." (Jevons' *The State in Relation to Labour*, pp. 65–6.)

9. It is a good rule that the law should not help those who can help themselves. The Factory Acts in relation to women and children were good, because they are physically inferior and unable to protect themselves, but any interference by Parliament in the hours of adult male labour is unnecessary and even dangerous as a precedent.

10. Any enterprising and capable man in any line of life raises the standard for the rest, and has influence in making the work of his class harder; but for this reason are we to put a check upon enterprise and hard work? This agitation for an eight-hours day is a specimen of much similar agitation which has for its object the reducing of the capable and willing men to the level of the incapable and the idle.

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DOES THE END JUSTIFY THE MEANS?

YES

1. We follow this principle in education by representing things to the child not as they actually are, but in such a manner as is best suited to the child's mind. Lotze says, 'all untruth cannot be forbidden to the *educator*, to whom belongs the right and duty of guiding another's independent course of thought."

2. We also proceed upon this principle in dealing with an enemy, and it is generally agreed that here a very extensive degree of untruth is justifiable.

3. We praise the divine government of the world just on this account, that the final good is reached only through distress—the end here is made to justify the means for us.

NO

1. If this principle is once admitted, the whole Jesuit philosophy will follow in its train. When the educator adapts the truth to the comprehension of the child, there is no untruth implied.

2. War is an evil in itself, and belongs to an early stage of civilization, and what is thus immoral in itself cannot be educed to support an immoral principle.

3. Here Lotze answers, "the end, good in itself, sanctifies the means merely for that person who otherwise has the right and duty, not simply of wishing this end, but also of

accomplishing it, and thereby of employing everything else as means for its execution."

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OUGHT COMPETITIVE EXAMINATIONS TO BE ABOLISHED?

NO

1. Under the competitive system the best man gets the prize, or the post, while every man has an equal chance; thus all the abuses of nepotism are done away with.

2. It is the only practical means of testing results both as regards the teaching and the learning.

3. Competition is the life of all trades and professions and the survival of the fittest is the law of the world. There is as much need for this stimulus in school as in business.

4. Free competition is the only means by which an obscure man can rise.

5. If the examination is conducted with care, the examiners can make sure they are getting the man with the particular qualification they require, and this is very desirable in the case of Government service.

6. By experience it is found that those do best in competitive examinations who do not overwork, so the effect cannot really be described as unhealthy.

YES

1. Experience proves that it is not the best educated, but the best "crammed" man who succeeds in competitive examinations.

2. Some system of probation would be preferable, and much more certain and satisfactory in its results.

3. The competitive examination system trains only the

intellectual powers, and not the physical or moral. Examinations are but poor tests of judgment, discretion, temper, trustworthiness, self-control and sagacity, yet these are better things than mere learning.

4. Many of the best minds mature slowly, and examinations fail to make room for these men.

5. It is always found in experience that these examinations have a strong tendency to overstrain the competitors, and to permanently injure their health and usefulness.

6. A striking number of the men who have done great deeds, mental, moral, and physical, were notoriously feeble in examinations.

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IS FASTING ANY USE?

YES

1. There is so strong a temptation to the unchecked indulgence of luxury in modern times that occasional fasting is especially called for as a corrective.

2. During the time of partial fasting the mind is ever being directed to the necessity of self-control, and this constant reminder is in itself invaluable, "lest we forget."

3. That the custom has always been so largely practised among men is an indication of its ascertained usefulness, and though it has often enough been abused and carried to an extreme, yet there is a soul of truth in the practice, when set free from superstition, and it should be far more widely adopted to-day.

4. Fasting of this sort is good not only from a moral, but also from a hygienic, point of view, and this is another indication of the fact that what is good morally is also good physically; yet if fasting is practised solely for hygienic reasons, there ceases to be moral value in it.

5. Although the practice can be made a superstition, yet if it is clearly put upon moral grounds, this charge cannot be brought against it.

NO

1. The struggle of existence is so fierce in modern times that the undue growth of luxury is provided against, and there is no need of adding the burden of fasting.

2. The tendency to magnify the importance of fasting is just an indication of the habit of laying stress upon external matters to the neglect of the inner righteousness of the heart.

3. It is a relic of the Romish superstition that the body is "vile" and ought to be abused, and the fact that the custom has been very widespread is only an indication of how widespread superstition is, and how difficult to eradicate.

4. If it is once admitted that fasting is good hygienically, then the moral benefit disappears, because it is then evidently practised with interested motives, which necessarily vitiates its moral value.

5. It is very apt to become another occasion of hypocrisy, and our times are already so overwhelmed with hypocrisy that for this reason alone fasting should be discouraged.

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OUGHT OUR EMPIRE TO FEDERATE?

YES

1. The colonies have at present no power to modify or participate in the foreign policy which may involve them in war.

2. The present condition of things is inconsistent. We have given them (at least, some of them) internal self-government, and with it great responsibilities; yet their fate may be in the hands of the voters of the United Kingdom, ignorant of their needs and conditions.

3. The colonies demand fuller power in matters vitally affecting them. They will never be listened to till they are more of an integral part of the Empire.

4. Though colonial interests are enormously important, they have no direct representation in the Imperial System.

5. The one-sided federation existing at present, if not developed to completeness, will lead to discontent and disintegration.

6. While the Powers of Europe are increasing their armaments, we cannot afford to have our colonies dissatisfied.

7. The colonies should bear part of the expense of protecting the Imperial interests. This can only be demanded when Imperial Federation has been secured.

8. Federation is the only means of placing our Empire on a really permanent and substantial basis.

9. We are fed from abroad, and within the area of the Empire all that is needed for the sustenance of life is to be found. Therefore a close Federation would bring about a very useful commercial union.

10. Such a vast consolidation of power as the Federated British Empire would mean peace for all mankind.

11. It would be the realization of a noble dream of brotherhood among all the different races who own the sway of Britain.

12. The advocates of progress, peace, self-government, and equal rights for all subjects of the realm see that Imperial Federation means the development of commerce, a solid basis of peace, extension of self-government, and the abolition of unjust disqualifications.

13. The prosperity attending the Roman system of colonization is a case in point, and this relation of the colonies to the mother city was only spoiled by the vice of slavery.

14. The severance of the connection between England and the U.S.A. has been a great evil to both countries, and has prevented that freedom of intercourse and trade which would have otherwise existed.

15. Union is strength, and if the bonds uniting England and her colonies be not maintained, then any hostile power might fall upon and reduce the colonies severally, and then, with consolidated power, ruin the mother country.

16. The instance of the comparative failure of Canada does not apply, because the real cause of failure there has been the dominion of the priesthood, and not dependence on the mother country, and there is every sign at present that Canada is beginning a career of progress, developing her vast natural resources.

NO

1. It is impossible to talk of the colonies as if they were homogeneous, but those of them which are self-governed say they want no further responsibilities. They are in danger of attack at present in any great war, and they would have to defend themselves. Closer federation would mean

certain implication in many quarrels with which they have nothing to do.

2. The free self-governing colonies would prefer to work out for themselves schemes for securing additional power in those directions where they are now inconveniently fettered.

3. The present loyalty of such colonies as Canada and Australia is owing to the fact that there is no strong pressure of union felt. This loose union, founded on sentiment and affection, and never too obvious, suits their temper and satisfies them. Were the bonds to be tightened, they would become restive, and would break loose altogether.

4. The funds of the colonies are required for the development of their own resources.

5. Colonies will never pay taxes to be expended beyond their own borders.

6. The scheme is an impossible one. No federation, however close, could ever make a unit of such a heterogeneous mass of different races, religions, opinions, interests, ideals, and stages of civilization.

7. The true colonial policy is to help the colonies to help themselves, not to keep them in leading strings longer than is necessary; to claim respect rather than obedience from them when they have reached their majority, and to make the tie of relationship as light as possible.

8. The scheme, so far as it is a serious one, is purely commercial. On the part of many of its advocates it is an ingenious attempt to overthrow Free Trade by the establishment of a strong commercial union between Britain and her colonies.

9. It panders to the British love of power and domination. Jingoism has already been a scource of danger to the world's peace, and the close Federation of the British

Colonies for defensive purposes, or from motives of Imperial pride, would not be a step towards the "Federation of the World."

10, 11, 12. Past experience should teach us that the idea is merely Utopian, and the only practical result of pressing it must be the irritation and even the alienation of the colonies.

13. Permanent connection with the mother country tends to retard the development of a colony by depriving it of the invigorating feeling of independence and self-reliance. The Greek plan of independent colonies met with much better success *e.g.* the Ionian settlements, Miletus, Lycia, and Ægina. (See also the effects of Phœnician colonization in Hippo, Utica, and Carthage.) The case of Rome shows that the direct result of her system was the tyranny of an odious oligarchy over a half-subdued barbarism. This tyranny was thought to be permanent, but the forces of Nature broke it.

14. In the case of the U.S.A. the desire to make the bond of union extend to the matter of taxes produced a revolution. Had England not been so bent on maintaining a mischievous control, the two countries would now be the most useful allies. The feebleness of Canada, contrasted with the enterprise of the U.S.A., shows how much better it is that the connection should not be permanent.

15. We find that the close connection between colonies and mother country entails the whole (or nearly so) of the Imperial defence upon the mother country, and in the case of war, the necessity of defending the colonies would greatly hamper the mother country.

16. The colonies of Spain in South America have revolted; also see the case of the colonies of Holland and France in Canada and in India, also colonies of Genoa, Venice, and Portugal.

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ARE THE LANDED GENTRY WORTH PRESERVING?

YES

1. The tendency is for the land to pass into the hands of a few wealthy proprietors, and this tendency is good, for the occupiers of land are always better off under a large proprietor than under a small one, because a smaller proportion of the income has to go to the maintenance of a household, and is available for the improvement of the estate. A large proprietor is much more likely to take a real family interest in the estate.

2. We cannot get on without a strong band of men thoroughly patriotic, because they have much to lose, with time, energy and will to interest themselves in the affairs of the nation, and we find this class in the landed gentry. We see what misery France is suffering for want of this class, and how Spain has degenerated with her ancient families—the Mendozas, Toledos, etc.

3. If we look back upon our own history, we see that many of our finest citizens have been among the landed gentry.

4. Respect for the past and reverence for forefathers was a conspicuous Roman virtue, and one which largely contributed to the stability of their empire: it is a virtue we should do well to cultivate.

5. Members of this class have often headed the party of progress.

6. If it were not for the landed gentry, socialism would

make such rapid progress that revolutionary measures would be passed before the mind of the nation was ready, with the inevitable result of loss of stability to the Government and even of anarchy.

7. Education theories are carried to extremes by modern faddists, and it is well that there should be a class in the country to hold these enthusiasts in check.

NO

1. The landlord is often a direct oppressor: the more money he has, the more he wants, and he lives to squeeze his tenants.

2. The argument from France and Spain does not apply, nor the argument from our own past, for in these old times the landed gentry used to live upon the land, but now they congregate in cities, and thus, having no real root in the country, must wither.

3. As a rule the landed gentry do not realize their responsibility to the people under their control, and wealth and ease degenerate them into mere pleasure-seekers.

4. That our politicians should be mainly recruited from the landed gentry is an evil, for they are thus able to make the law to suit themselves, and there is little chance for the poor, as litigation is so expensive that justice has become a luxury.

5. These were exceptions, and do not show that there is any real sympathy between the landed gentry as a body and the party of progress.

6. The landed gentry keep up in the English mind the slow-dying convictions of the Feudal System, and they hinder the progress of the democratic ideal towards which the heart of the nation is so uneasily struggling. The landed gentry stand for the inequality of men—that principle which holds the great mass of the people in the hope

less bondage of a caste system, and elevates a few by virtue of the accident of their birth to a superior pedestal.

7. The landed gentry have been the great opponents of the education of the people, and with the Church have striven to keep the people "in that sphere of life in which God has placed them," thereby crushing all their God-given powers.

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ARE GHOSTS REAL OR IMAGINARY?

REAL

1. There is a large mass of facts accumulated to-day by the Psychical Research Society connected with thought-transference, apparitions, dreams, hallucinations, and the like, and these facts are so many and of such constant occurrence that they demand a better explanation than that afforded by theories of insanity and nervous derangement.

2. When the names of the men who are seriously pursuing the investigation of these extraordinary phenomena are duly considered, the conclusion is irresistible that this subject is capable of scientific treatment, and that there are definite facts to treat.

3. The days are past when it was considered dangerous to inquire into these phenomena, for the modern scientific spirit has the whole world for its field, both the world of matter and the world of thought and feeling. A thoroughly scientific inquiry usually leads to the conviction that so-called ghosts have some sort of objective existence.

4. From the earliest times up till the present men have believed in ghosts in spite of themselves, and this belief thus appears to be rooted deep in our nature. In view of this fact it seems more reasonable to suppose that there is something for this belief to rest on than that it is a mere delusion.

5. One of the main objections to a belief in ghosts is that it seems to demand a belief in the supernatural; but this objection is ill-founded, for Ghost-land is not the land

of the supernatural, but only the land of the unknown, which is the legitimate field of inquiry.

6. The representatives of religion often attempt to confine the belief in spirits or ghosts to Bible times. This is plainly unreasonable, and, if we accept some of the ghosts and apparitions of the Bible, we must also be prepared to accept some of the ghosts and apparitions of subsequent times.

7. Unless evidence has no weight with us and timidity rides us, we are compelled to believe in the reality of ghosts; and, in face of modern pessimism and scepticism, it is highly probable that the time is ripe for us to enter upon some definite knowledge of the future world in which may be found a key for the solution of some of the mysteries of life which are becoming so painfully oppressive.

8. If we hold that there is a distinction between soul and body, then there is nothing irrational in our believing in what is called the "thought-body,"—that is, the soul manifest, or the ghost. All the cases of apparitions become intelligible if we accept the possibility of the existence of this thought-body, which also explains those extraordinary cases of mistaken identity and "doubles."

9. The exceeding fearfulness of animals in haunted houses is well known, and furnishes unprejudiced evidence for the existence of ghosts.

10. The question seems to be almost set at rest by photography. Invisible stars are photographed, and so are invisible ghosts. The cases of ghost photography are too many to be set aside or explained away.

NOT REAL

1. When strict tests are applied, then this great mass of facts shrinks to a comparatively few inexplicable cases, and these are not sufficiently clear or frequent to enable us to conclude that ghosts have any objective reality.

2. It is possible for men to believe anything if they set their minds to it, and when even the wisest of men have in the past held strange and now exploded fancies, there is no particular reason why we should believe in ghosts because some wise men of the day believe in them.

3. We often hear of people who devote themselves to the study of this uncanny subject becoming degenerate visionaries, and it seems clear that if we want to keep a well-balanced mind we had better avoid investigating the subject of ghosts.

4. The permanence or universality of any belief is no indication of its truth, else many contradictory beliefs would be at the same time true. These persistent ghost stories merely point to the constant presence and activity of the imagination in man.

5. We have come to see that the world is governed by definite, ascertainable laws, and that we can have no clear knowledge of what is supernatural. Ghosts are beyond the reach of science, and we can never know whether they exist or not. The safest working assumption seems to be, however, that they are imaginary.

6. We may credit many of the miracles of the Bible because they are vouched for by exceptional authority, but modern ghosts have no such authority, and therefore merit our scepticism.

7. The mysteries of life are necessary to its moral training, and were these mysteries revealed, moral conduct would lose its value. It seems, therefore, not only fruitless but impious to peer into mysteries which God has not chosen to reveal.

8. All theories of a thought-body or an astral-body are mere speculations, and science shows us that if we wish to arrive at any truth we must keep our natural tendency to speculate under severe control, and confine ourselves to the

verifiable facts of nature. If we follow this teaching of science and common sense, we must be very sceptical of the existence of ghosts.

9. We can argue nothing from the lower animals, because we know so little about them. We know their structure, but we know not even whether they can think or not. Evidence on this line can count for nothing.

10. The subject of ghost photography is hardly capable of thorough tests, because it is practically impossible to make sure that any given plate has not by accident received some dim image before being used in the camera. What is supposed to be the photo of a ghost is probably the dim photo of a person of flesh and blood which got on to the plate by accident.

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PARTY GOVERNMENT—IS IT A USEFUL OR MISCHIEVOUS SYSTEM?

USEFUL

1. This system has been developed as the result of the whole history of our country, and ought therefore to be cherished and guarded.

2. It is the best practical system for us, insuring as it does that every measure shall be adequately discussed before passing into law.

3. Coalition Governments have always been failures.

4. It introduces discipline into the debates by discouraging cranks, and does much to prevent that extreme self-assertion which gives rise to so many parties in France. Individual liberty in excess simply means anarchy. Some sort of discipline is as necessary in Parliament as it is on board ship, or in the army.

5. It tends to interest the people in politics without unnecessarily distracting and confusing their minds.

MISCHIEVOUS

1. It is fatal to independence of judgment, leading men to vote more because they belong to a certain party than because they approve the principle of a measure.

2. Loyalty to party is apt to become the great guiding principle for the majority of the members of Parliament, and this is but a poor substitute for loyalty to conscience.

3. No consistent and far-sighted policy is possible, and so statesmen are apt to adopt a hand-to-mouth policy suited to the needs of the hour and the necessity of vote-catching.

4. It has a tendency to make both politicians and the public narrow-minded, bigoted, unpatriotic, suspicious, violent and uncharitable.

5. It springs from a false notion of freedom which makes the Government unstable and the ministers timorous.

6. The effect of it is that the country is governed by a narrow oligarchy of wealthy families.

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OUGHT WE TO OBEY MRS. GRUNDY?

NO

1. If people had always obeyed Mrs. Grundy in the past, we should still be wearing trunk hose and crinolines; there would have been no reformation and little progress.

2. If we go into details we see that in religion, science, art, philosophy and literature progress has been brought about by active resistance to the conventions of the day.

3. There is a difference between what is essentially annoying to society, such as untidy clothing, dirty boots and loud talking, and what is annoying only because of some convention or custom, such as the refusal to wear gloves, or a tall hat, or a high collar. This distinction is real and easily applicable, and keeps the intelligent reformer from the abuse of his liberty.

4. The party of order are perpetually imprisoning themselves in conventional dungeons of their own building, and it is the plain duty of the innovator to persevere in the endeavour to free himself and them.

5. The tyranny of Mrs. Grundy is as severe as any other tyranny, not in any particular case, but in the sum total of its restrictions. It causes immense extravagance, and at the same time a decrease in the amount of social intercourse, because it has made it the custom to give large, infrequent and tedious entertainments instead of small, frequent and lively ones. The result is that just those who need it most are driven from society and seek real social

pleasure in an unhealthy moral atmosphere; in short, lives are worn out in the service of etiquette, and pleasure freezes under its icy breath. The need of strenuous reform, therefore, and of stout resistance, is plain, for many social conventions must take rank among the crowned follies of the world.

YES

1. If this principle were once generally admitted, it would bring in the reign of cranks and faddists, and tend to the utter confusion of society.

2. Custom is always changing, and there is no such thing as a fixed custom. It is well that established customs should die slowly, in order that reforms may be adequately tested before being adopted.

3. There are a great number of unwritten customs of society which, though apparently trifling in themselves, yet are very useful in keeping up the refinement and politeness necessary to a healthy moral tone. No one can estimate the beneficent effect of these little politenesses and mutual considerations which society exacts.

4. It is not wise for the reformer to resist the conventions of society, because if he does so he gets the reputation of being a crank, and his opinion on serious matters does not receive the weight it otherwise would.

5. If a man is to be allowed to offend one canon of accepted taste, why not all? The line can be drawn nowhere short of a relapse into irresponsible barbarism. When a man breaks through forms, he is only asserting his own selfish wish against the well-understood preference of the majority of his fellow-men. Even if he disapprove of the custom, he should still make some effort to conform, in order to avoid the danger of being both unjust and ungenerous.

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SHOULD THE HALF-TIME SYSTEM BE ABOLISHED?

NO

1. The half-time system is necessary because many families cannot live unless the parents' wages are supplemented by the children's.

2. It is the result of our economic conditions of life, and, if it is interfered with to any extent, the result will be the loss of trade to the country.

3. It early accustoms the children to the conditions under which they must spend their lives, for under the half-time system they are gradually introduced to these conditions.

YES

1. It is clearly proved that so far from increasing the wages of the family, children's and women's labour tends to lower wages by entering into competition with the men. Where the whole family works in factories, the wages are not greater than where the men only work.

2. This argument was used against our whole series of factory acts by such men as John Bright and Cobden, yet it would be difficult to find any one to-day bold enough to declare that we ought to revert to the old conditions of child-slavery.

3. It crushes enjoyment out of the lives of children, prevents their adequate education, gives them a knowledge of the world too young, to the danger of their morality, encourages early and improvident marriage in expectation

of the earnings of the children, wrecks home life, of which many of the children know nothing, and is of benefit only to the employers who exploit this child labour for their own selfish ends.

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SHOULD HOSPITALS BE MAINTAINED AND MANAGED BY THE STATE?

YES

1. Charity is a very uncertain source of income now-a-days, when benevolent men have so little money to spare and the greedy absorb so much.

2. The abuses which now go on, such as the undue experimenting upon patients, overcrowding and the waste of money in careless administration, would be rectified.

3. The State could manage the hospitals in such a way that much of the stigma of charity would be removed.

4. It would tend to increase their efficiency and to prevent well-to-do people getting advice and medicine for nothing.

5. Even though the doctors might have to be paid, that would be better than allowing the hospitals to be, as at present, mainly institutions for the teaching of medicine, and only secondarily for the relief of suffering.

NO

1. The calling forth of private charity is a good thing, and if this channel were dried up, it would be to the loss of the State.

2. State management would be more expensive, introducing as it would all the evils of officialism and red-tape.

3. We are getting into the way of putting everything

upon the State to the loss on the part of the whole people of individual energy, resource and independence.

4. If hospitals are to be maintained out of the rates, they will not be able to refuse patients, as at present, and the well-to-do will escape their doctors' fees even more frequently.

5. The doctors would no longer give their services gratis, but would have to be paid, which would greatly increase the expenses of management.

6. The public is only too ready to listen to general charges against the hospitals without demanding any proof.

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OUGHT WE TO GOVERN INDIA SOLELY FOR ITS NATIVES?

YES

1. We are attempting to govern the natives of India, whose whole habits of thought are widely different from ours. The only way to govern successfully under these circumstances would be to give absolute discretion to Europeans on the spot thoroughly acquainted with the nature of the natives; but instead of doing this, we consider it wise to appoint over the head of the viceroy a minister at home who knows nothing of the subject.

2. The result of our policy is that we are trying to impose our ideas upon the natives without due regard to their ideas, and we, who are supposed to represent freedom, are thus guilty of the greatest tyranny.

3. An intelligent despotism of informed opinion on the spot might be useful and good for the natives, but we continue a despotism of uninformed and ever-changing popular opinion which the party in power represents for the time. India is thus often turned into a playground for faddists and cranks, and the natives suffer the tyranny of our uninformed zeal.

4. Our policy should therefore be to gradually train up the natives to rule themselves, and, when they become capable, to hand over the government to them.

NO

1. We should endeavour to understand better the Indian mind, and should give more power and responsibility to informed opinion. We should reform our own administration

while attempting to reform the natives; but that is not to say that we should contemplate abandoning the country, which would be a suicidal and foolish policy.

2. The very cry, "India for the Indians," is a cry of uninformed opinion, because experts tell us that if our strong rule were removed, anarchy would be the result. The most intelligent natives see so clearly the practical benefits of our rule that they do not wish it removed.

3. We have won India by the sword, and we must keep it by the sword if necessary, unless we are to abandon the sentiment of patriotism and undo at a blow the beneficent effects secured by so lavish an expenditure of blood and treasure.

4. If we were to contemplate magnanimously retiring from our hard-won Empire, the action would be misunderstood and attributed to cowardice or to weakness. Our policy of training the natives in our own methods and admitting them to posts in the Government by competitive examination is a thoroughly bad one, because we turn out men "with the heads of professors and the hearts of hares," who are despised by their own fellow-countrymen.

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IS THE DIVISION OF LABOUR NOW CARRIED TO HURTFUL EXCESS?

YES

1. Every man has varied capacities, and the modern habit of confining a man strictly to one definite form of activity cramps his whole nature and starves his life.

2. A certain amount of specialization is necessary from the fact that men's qualities are different, but this differentiation has in modern life been carried to a mischievous extreme, making men one-sided. The evil of this tendency is seen in the decline of art, in pessimism and degeneracy.

3. The great triumphs of the century in labour-saving machinery have only tended to further subdivide labour, until artisans are each confined to so small a detail of production that they lose all artistic interest in their work and become discontented. If this process is allowed to go on unchecked, it will spread into all departments of life, until the majority of men become the hopeless slaves of routine.

4. This excessive subdivision is not in the interest of efficiency, as is seen by comparing modern craftsmanship with ancient. A workman must have a sufficiently wide field to develop his interest, or else he will become a mere machine, turning out work because he has to, and not because he likes it.

NO

1. The modern subdivision of labour gives rise to the conception of a calling which has a great ethical value,

bringing constantly to mind the fact that the individual is serving the whole society in the most effective manner.

2. It is the teaching of science that as development advances specialization of function increases. This tendency cannot be successfully resisted.

3. The scientific triumphs of the century are due to this subdivision of labour. It is only by men devoting their whole lives to one special branch of knowledge that this progress has been made. The present social evils cannot be attributed to machinery or the excessive subdivision of labour, but are mainly attributable to the selfishness of the few luxuriating upon the labour of the many.

4. The cramping effect of increasing subdivision of labour is more than counterbalanced by the innumerable wide interests which have been brought into the lives of all by the development of popular institutions, the newspaper press, cheap books, general education, rapid communication, the post, telegraph and the like. Life is far richer than it used to be, in spite of all the subdivision of labour.

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SHOULD NONCONFORMISTS ADOPT LITURGIES?

YES

1. The reformers, when they discarded the ancient liturgy of the Church, robbed us of a priceless treasure, and there is no reason why Nonconformists should voluntarily cut themselves off from these ancient and quiet forms of worship which make their appeal to all as men.

2. Liturgies tend to promote reverence in public worship. When there is no liturgy, the strain upon the minister is great, and the prayers are usually very poor, with awkward phrases constantly recurring.

3. Extempore prayer cannot be common prayer. It is impossible for the minister to express the need of a whole congregation, and the strain occasioned by the attempt (sometimes vain) to follow him through winding sentences and windy paragraphs destroys the whole feeling of worship. The Anglican liturgy, through its very vagueness, is the more valuable for the purposes of common prayer—it voices elemental need.

4. A liturgical service maintains the union of the Catholic Church throughout the world. These ancient prayers connect us so intimately with the past, that every one who values that which has comforted generations of men must wish to use in his worship words which are saturated with human sorrow, reverence and quiet joy—prayers "of which, for the most part, no man knows the author."

5. Liturgies provide that no man shall go away from the

service entirely disappointed. Men nowadays are getting very tired of preaching, for they instinctively feel that we have far too much of it, and the main charm of any service is the opportunity it gives for quiet devotion. From this it is clear that those who regard liturgies as a mere form are lacking in religious sense, for they would refuse to adopt that which makes worship inevitable, and put in its place that which often makes worship impossible.

NO

1. Liturgies are mechanical. All men are not alike in spiritual experience, and hence any given set of words cannot possibly be a fitting vehicle for the worship of all. Men seek variety in everything, and it is natural to ask it also in worship. Many Churchmen feel the monotony of their service keenly, and Nonconformist churches would only suffer by imitating this weak point of the Establishment.

2. Liturgies suffer from vagueness of thought and expression. There are many special wants which arise from time to time which find a voice in free prayer, and of which liturgies are ignorant. Liturgies, too, are often above the heads of the people, and as they cannot understand the prayers, the worship becomes quite formal. Where free prayer prevails a minister can adapt his prayer to the known needs of his congregation.

3. Liturgies are not progressive, and are consequently opposed to the spirit of the Christian life. Without liturgies there may be a certain rawness about the prayers of a young minister; but this is not only natural, it is instructive and helpful to those in the same state of progress, while the prayers of a maturer minister are rich with the weight of his experience, expressing needs far deeper than any stereotyped form of prayer is capable of.

4. Liturgies are against the genius of nonconformity because they imply an authority which prescribes the liturgy. Nonconformists stand for the liberty of conscience and worship, and if they abandon these principles their *raison d'être* is gone.

5. Free access to the Throne of God through Christ is the essence of spiritual Christianity, and when the way is thus made plain, why should we hamper ourselves with printed forms composed in the remote past. If worship is not spontaneous, it is very apt to become hypocritical.

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SHOULD PARLIAMENT RESTRAIN EXCESSIVE LUXURY?

YES

1. Whatever a man has above what is necessary for maintaining the health and comfort of life should be devoted in some way to the public good, and just in proportion as he spends this surplus upon himself in useless luxury does he defraud the community.

2. Although this is acknowledged by many as an abstract principle, yet it is only acted upon in very exceptional circumstances, and in order to secure the working of the rule, society will have to take some active measures.

3. Society has the right of protecting itself against the luxury of its individual members, because it is only through the protection afforded to them by society that the greedy members are able to absorb more than their share of the available good.

4. Luxury is in itself directly a danger to society, as is witnessed by the decay of the ancient civilizations through the enervation of their individual members following in the track of luxury. If some means are not devised to check this evil, we can only hope to follow in the path of national degeneration until some more healthy and virile race arises to supplant us.

5. The failure of the ancient sumptuary laws does not imply that legislation for the restraint of luxury is impossible in modern times. Some system of heavy taxation upon

luxuries would tend to restrain their use and at the same time bring in a large revenue to the State.

6. It is idle to contend that luxury is not mischievous in its working, because private expenditure encourages trade. Money spent selfishly gives work with a resulting gratification to the individual, whereas money spent unselfishly creates just as much work, and the result is to the permanent good of the community. If there were any value in the argument, it would apply with equal force in favour of the maintenance of gambling hells and the drink traffic and the like.

7. Ancient kings and conquerors, who sought their own aggrandisement only, do not differ essentially from modern luxurious men. The latter deserve all the condemnation heaped upon the former.

NO

1. If this rule were carried into practice, men would not exert themselves beyond the point where their exertions would benefit themselves, and the result would be that enterprise would be checked, work would become more scarce, and the conditions of life harder than ever.

2. It is impossible for society to insist upon general benevolence, for this is a matter for the individual conscience, over which society has no control.

3. This principle cannot be admitted without the most extensive consequences; if society has the right of protecting itself against individual luxury, then also it has the right of protecting itself against individual malice, meanness, hypocrisy and the like. The result of the establishment of this theory would be a tyranny such as had never been witnessed before.

4. It was not so much luxury as idleness which was the ruin of ancient society. In modern times luxury is seldom

attainable except by the most energetic members of society, and these are just those who are best fitted to withstand its temptations. Even where wealth is inherited, if the inheritor is lavish and wasteful, then there is a tendency for him to sink into a lower social position in which this waste is no longer possible. In this way excessive luxury corrects itself by the automatic working of the economic laws.

5. Ancient sumptuary laws, such as those of Rome, were conspicuous failures, and we have no evidence that any modern revival of the practice would be more successful.

6. Lavish expenditure is not an evil altogether, for part of the expenditure goes directly to benefit trade. This is shown by the fact that when the Court goes into mourning London trade suffers severely, because the expenditure of the wealthy is reduced.

7. It is easy to denounce ancient tyrants, and to forget that it is through their energy and ambition that modern nations have grown and peace and good order have been made possible. The future will probably owe as much to our enterprising men of to-day.

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IIAS THE INTRODUCTION OF MACHINERY DONE MORE HARM THAN GOOD?

HARM

1. The agricultural depression can be traced to the fact that the extensive use of machinery on the American wheat fields has brought American produce into disastrous competition with European. When it is remembered also that this cheapness of American produce is not only caused by the increased application of machinery to agriculture, but also by the fact that this increased application results in a material reduction of the number of labourers required, it is clear that the total evil resulting from machinery is very great.

2. In the cotton industry and in printing the result of the increasing use of machinery is seen to be the employment of fewer hands, the aggregation of immense capital (always necessary for setting up extensive machinery), and the crushing out of small enterprises. Many of our most serious social evils have their root in the growing use of machinery: the old personal relation between master and servant is forgotten in a gigantic mill, and the poor and the rich become established in hostile camps.

3. The so-called labour-saving machines do not really save labour, for, says John Stuart Mill, "Hitherto it is questionable if all the mechanical inventions yet made have lessened the day's toil of any human being."

4. The quality of the work done has degenerated since the introduction of machinery, for, though there is a great uniformity in machine-made products, there is not the excellence of quality found in the old hand-made products.

5. The life of the workman is made intolerably monotonous and dull by machinery. "The constant employment on one sixty-fourth part of a shoe not only offers no encouragement to mental activity, but dulls by its monotony the brains of the employé to such an extent that the power to think and reason is almost lost" (*Contemporary Review*, 1889, p. 392).

6. Machinery has the most desolating effect upon the beauty and health of whole districts, *e.g.*, the black country, etc.

GOOD

1. Machinery as applied to agriculture has made the resources of the world available for the needs of the world. A famine in any part of the world can now be prevented to a large extent, the simple necessaries of life have also become much cheaper, and though, as this progress has gone on, men have been thrown out of employment by machinery, yet other fields of activity have opened up which more than compensate.

2. A considerable number of entirely new industries have been created by machinery, one of the most striking instances of this being the vast railway enterprises of the world. The evil effects of machinery as regards the relation of capital and labour are temporary, and are being steadily remedied (*vide* the Factory Acts).

3. This statement of J. S. Mill's is a gross exaggeration, for we see in the short-hour movement an indication of the fact that the labour-saving machines do save labour, and generally it may be observed that the condition of the

working man to-day under the sway of machinery is much better than it used to be in the old time.

4. The quality of machine-made work is on the whole better than that of hand-made work, because there is a precision about a machine not to be attained by the best workman. The mathematical regularity, perfection of control, and high speed found in machines produce a quality of work which makes reverting to old conditions out of the question.

5. This is a temporary condition, for as machinery becomes more perfected, one man will be able to supervise a larger number of machines, and his work will become more interesting and less exacting. It is to be hoped that the time may come when machinery will be made to do all the unintellectual work of the world.

6. This is a purely sentimental objection to machinery, and is being removed as electricity replaces steam as a motive power.

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ARE MODERN CHRISTIAN MISSIONS A FAILURE?

NO

1. We have only a comparatively short period of Christian enterprise upon which to pass an opinion. When this period is attentively considered, it will become manifest that Christians of this century have succeeded almost as well as Christians of the first century.

2. It may be objected that the majority of the converts are poor and of no political or social influence, but this was equally true of the converts of the first century. It is characteristic of Christianity at its best that it comes "with good tidings to the poor." It is to be noted, also, that when these degraded people receive the Gospel they at once improve in moral character, and consequently begin to rise.

3. The success of Christian missions is fully manifested in the effect produced upon the consideration in which women are held. Wherever Christianity makes its way, there women are in process of taking their just place in the esteem of men.

4. Some of the most eminent officials in India, such as Lord Lawrence, Sir Bartle Frere, and Sir Richard Temple, have testified to the success of Christian missions. Other witnesses are also quoted, *e.g.*, General Sir Herbert Edwardes, Sir Donald McLeod, Lord Napier and Ettrick, Sir W. W. Hunter (statistical department).

5. The excellence of the Buddhist literature gives no

idea of the religion in its practical results. Viewed as a practice, Buddhism is a failure, and where Christianity supplants it, at once a higher morality of conduct appears.

6. Christianity may have departed to some extent from its primitive beauty and simplicity at home, but the very idea of missionary enterprise is characteristic of Christianity at its purest, and the success of Christian missions is not only assured in itself on the authority of its Divine Founder, but carries with it the promise of reform at home.

7. The people to whom the missionaries go are sunk in ignorance, lethargy, and misery. Only a few of them know of the best parts of their own religion, and they are consequently the victims of every kind of superstition. Nothing but Christianity can rouse them, and the extraordinary success of its missions shows how much more energy and money are required for this sacred work.

YES

1. It is impossible to obtain trustworthy statistics, for no two authorities agree. Arguments based upon the conversion of a number of wholly ignorant people cannot be sound, because (1) it is impossible to see the motives which influenced these poor converts. Is it because they really believe Christianity to be the truth, or is it because they want to be doctored or clothed or fed or taught? (2) It is highly probable that they could be converted back to their old religion without much difficulty. It is possible to "convert" ignorant and weak-minded people to anything.

2. The conversions among the intelligent classes are very rare, and, though it is characteristic of Christianity to begin with the poor, surely it is not also one of its characteristics to continue to be confined to the ignorant.

3. We do not understand the position of women in the East, but we may well be astonished at the chastity and sobriety which prevailed in India before we introduced the lust of drink and the lust of gold, which are such noticeable indications of the vitality of our Christian faith

4. Christian missions have been a success in so far as they have been a means of bringing East and West in contact, and of enabling us to understand some of the ancient religions of the East, and to broaden our views; but, as far as the propagating of any particular dogmas (such as those of Evangelicalism) are concerned, they are a conspicuous failure.

5. In its history, Christianity has failed in its missionary efforts against Judaism, Zoroastrianism, Mohammedanism, Brahminism, and Buddhism. It can teach to the Easterns nothing that they have not got already in their own religion, and as to the conduct of life, Christians would do well to sit at the feet of Buddhists.

6. Christianity has so far departed from its truest principles that it is practically a failure here in England. Our vice, intemperance, greed of gold do not yield to the dogmas with which we have obscured Christianity; how can we expect, then, that these dogmas which fail so miserably at home should succeed abroad?

7. The people to whom the missionaries go cannot by any possibility be called heathen. Often they practise a more exalted morality than the missionaries do, and are quite as full of the milk of human kindness. Their ancient religions not only satisfy the aspirations of the poorest and most ignorant, but represent to the wise and gifted the highest flights of which human spirits are capable. Christianity, on the other hand, as taught by the missionaries is notoriously unsatisfactory to the great majority of our cleverest men.

In the above arguments statistics have been avoided, under the impression that very few of them are reliable; but those who want figures should consult the reports of the various missionary societies. Statistics will also be found in the following references:—

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The Monist,* Chicago, vol. v. p. 264, January, 1895. "Christian Missions." A Triangular Debate before the Nineteenth Century Club of New York. By Bishop J. M. Thoburn, Virchand R. Ghandhi, and Dr. Paul Carus. (This is very interesting.)

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ARE PRIVATE MONOPOLIES PUBLIC EVILS?

YES

1. The old monopolies, such as were granted by Queen Elizabeth and James I., were made illegal by the Statute of Monopolies passed in 1623, and monopolies in this old arbitrary sense cannot be revived; but in modern times the stress of competition has become so severe that capitalists often unite, and by getting control of an entire industry create a monopoly which, though it be obtained by legal means, is just as disastrous in its effects as the old monopoly granted by the arbitrary will of the sovereign.

2. When commodities are in the hands of trusts, prices run up, and yet production is rendered cheaper by trusts (the very reason of their existence); therefore it is the public which have to pay the vast profits on the trusts.

3. This public payment of increased prices is simply another form of taxation—public taxation for private ends, which is an infringement of one of the cardinal principles of liberty, "no taxation without representation."

4. Under trusts the workmen are completely in the hands of the capitalists, because the competition among the capitalists for the best workmen is removed, and these men must either work at the wage the trust is willing to give, or must starve. The natural tendency of monopolies in private hands is thus to depress wages.

5. This evil is all the more terrible as it seems practically beyond the reach of law, because it is so hard to make out

that any given trust is legally a "monopoly" or a "conspiracy."

NO

1. Modern monopolies differ radically from ancient ones, and so far from injuring the public, they confer many benefits; *e.g.*, under unrestrained private competition adulteration flourishes, because it is often the only way for the small capitalist to escape financial ruin; but when trusts and combinations take the field, then adulteration ceases, the cause of it, competition, being removed.

2 and 3. Trusts do a great public service by showing that competition is not necessary to the life of trade, but, on the other hand, that co-operation reduces the expenses of production and raises the quality of the goods. The evils resulting from trusts are temporary, and the only way to escape them is to have larger and larger trusts, until at last the people themselves manage their own industries.

4. Trusts, by their enormous control of capital, are able to develop the resources of a country in a way impossible to private enterprise, and in this way to create far more opportunity for employment than private enterprise can. As Government obtains more and more control of these gigantic trusts, the condition of the wage-earners will be improved. Trusts prevent waste, and put capital to its best use.

5. This is merely an indication that the cure of the evils caused by monopolies is not to be found in legal proceedings. These legal proceedings must be futile, because the monopolies are simply the result of the working of the law of competition, and it is economically impossible to revert to the previous conditions of things. The only remedy plainly lies in the obtaining adequate State control of these monopolies. We have already grasped

the fact that natural monopolies, such as gas, water, tramways, etc., are best managed by municipalities, and we have only to take another step to see that artificial monopolies embraced in the various industries are best managed by the State for the public good.

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MUNICIPAL GAS SUPPLY

FOR

1. The good government of a municipality is improved according as its functions are wisely extended, and this rule demonstrates its truth in the matter of gas supply.

2. If a private company manage the gas supply, they manage it in the interest of their shareholders, and the good of the public is only a secondary consideration with them; whereas if the municipality are the managers, they act mainly in the interest of the public, which means a good supply, as cheap as possible, and an honest administration.

3. The experience of such cities as Glasgow, Birmingham, Berlin, which have municipalized their gasworks, all tells in favour of the reform. (*E.g.*, in Glasgow the works as taken over produced 6,500,000 cubic feet, and now they have been so improved that they are capable of producing 12,000,000 cubic feet: yet in spite of this improvement there is no rate on rental levied for the gas, because the manufacture has proved remunerative at the rate of 4*s.*[1] per thousand cubic feet, no rent for meters.—*Encycl. Brit.*).

4. When the gasworks are under the municipality, the interest of the employés is regarded (*e.g.*, in Birmingham there has been an eight-hour day for the gas employés since 1889), but under a gas company the men are apt to be sweated and the public exploited.

[1] Since this return the price has been reduced to about 2*s.* 6*d.* per thousand feet.

5. The natural result of this reform is a large increase in the municipal revenue, which is all for the good of the city. (*E.g.*, "at last accounts the Berlin gasworks yielded something like 18 per cent. of the entire annual expenditure of the city as profit.") [1]

6. Gas will always be required, even though electricity take its place for lighting purposes, so the reform is as needful as ever.

AGAINST

1. Municipal enterprises are both expensive and ineffective. In taking over the gas supply the municipality goes far beyond its duties, and takes upon it the work which would be better done by private enterprise.

2. A private company must manage their business well, or else it would not pay, and the natural result is that they cater best for the public good.

3. The municipal management of gas supply gives large opportunity for corruption and jobbery. Municipal enterprises suffer under the lethargy of officialdom and red-tape.

4. This increasing of the powers of the municipality is just a step towards socialism, and, unless the tendency is discouraged, disastrous results are sure to follow as these irresponsible socialists get more power into their hands.

5. This so-called social reform can only result in the discouragement of private enterprise, in the gradual introduction of all sorts of grandmotherly legislation, to the weakening of the self-reliance and independence of the people.

6. Electricity is rapidly driving out gas, and it would be folly for any municipality to buy out gasworks only to find that there was an ever-dwindling demand for gas.

[1] *Encyclopædia of Social Reform.* Edited by W. D. P. Bliss. 1897, p. 154. Funk & Wagnalls.

MUNICIPAL TRAMWAYS

FOR

1. These are now adopted in Huddersfield, Blackpool, Glasgow, Leeds, Plymouth, Dover, Liverpool, Nottingham, Sheffield, and the system has been found to work out larger profits and better service.

2. It is in the interest of private companies to secure high fares, small expenses (including long hours and small wages for the men), and big dividends, whereas when the municipality governs the tramways it aims at low fares, good service (including fair treatment of the men), and reasonable profits.

3. The tramways are a monopoly, and they should not therefore be in private hands, for the temptation to exploit the public, tyrannize over the employés, and doctor the accounts and assessments, is too strong to be resisted by a company of eager speculators.

4. Tramway companies obtain excessive influence in city politics, and often succeed in running the council for their own benefit; this gives rise to much corruption and jobbery.

AGAINST

1. The working of the tramways by the municipality is not a profitable enterprise, because it involves the adoption of expensive philanthropic fads, like the reduction of fares and excessive pay to the employés.

2. Tramway companies have been very successful, paying high dividends, and in this way have been a real boon to the investing public, especially nowadays, when a good investment is so hard to find.

3. The ruling powers have sufficient control over tramway companies to prevent any injustice to the public, and, besides, it is plainly not in the interest of the companies to

exploit the public, but rather to encourage them to make use of the cars by rendering the service as cheap and efficient as possible.

4. Municipal control means the triumph of officialdom and red-tape, and leads to political corruption.

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OUGHT WE TO ADOPT A SYSTEM OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT FOR THE UNITED KINGDOM?

YES

1. Parliament is at present unable to grapple with the amount of work it has to do. It has to deal with the affairs of the Empire, of the United Kingdom as a whole, and of the constituent parts of the United Kingdom. As a result, no business is properly handled, and free discussion is necessarily curtailed by the use of the closure.

2. Greater specialization would be possible. A few men attending to a certain set of duties would have a more thorough knowledge of them than if these duties were unlimited as they are now in parliament.

3. Ministers, and especially the head of the government, should be able to grasp thoroughly all matters with which they have to deal. At present this is impossible owing to the great variety of these matters, and they are dependent upon subordinates to too great an extent.

4. Each country of the United Kingdom is compelled from time to time to obey laws which a majority of its inhabitants would reject. That such a question as the disestablishment of the Church in England should be decided by Irish Roman Catholics, Scotch Presbyterians and Welsh dissenters is contrary to the right of self-government.

5. Parliament is Olympian. Occupied as it is with Imperial and foreign affairs, it is apt to get out of touch with domestic matters and the real needs of the people.

6. The temporary importance of a single question of external affairs may put a government in power which is

out of sympathy with the majority of the electors upon domestic matters : or vice versa. E.g., in 1900 Conservative members were returned by large majority of London constituencies, on the question of the South African war. In the same year in the L.C.C. elections, the Progressives obtained an overwhelming majority.

7. It is the only possible scheme for granting Home Rule to Ireland. It is essential that the Irish demand be met, as the present attitude of that country is a grave danger to the Empire.

8. If the Empire is to avoid disintegration, imperial federation must be resorted to. A necessary preliminary to this is devolution at home, because the imperial parliament must be freed from all flavour of parochialism. This is demanded by the dignity and standing of the dominions, and by the practical necessities referred to under heading 1.

NO

1. It is unwise to tamper with the constitution. Constitutional changes, if necessary at all, should be centripetal, not centrifugal. The whole tendency of the age, and one necessary to self-preservation, is towards concentration. The difficulties of carrying on parliamentary business can be met in other ways ; e.g., by an extension of the system of committees and by framing rules for dealing with obstruction. Great difficulties would arise in matters of finance and in the executive.

2. The best men would not be obtained for the local parliaments, and the danger of corruption would be increased. Moreover, if this argument were carried to its logical conclusion, there would be no end to the demand for subdivision of parliaments.

3. Only general policy needs to be framed by ministers. It is right and proper for them to rely upon subordinates

for matters of detail, and more expert knowledge is thus brought to bear upon these details. Ministers should not be specialists.

4. Local minorities would suffer. The very heterogeneity of parliament is at present a valuable check upon this. The preponderance of Churchmen in England prevents the persecution of their co-religionists in Wales, and the Irish vote protects the Roman Catholics in England. If the power of veto were retained by the supreme parliament as a check upon this evil, the consequence would be quarrels and demands for complete separation.

5. Interests of various sections of the community are not necessarily furthered by a division on geographical lines. And true geographical divisions are not necessarily those upon which the United Kingdom is politically divided.

6. This argument may be valid, but as the example given shows the difficulty is already met by the existence of county councils and kindred bodies. It may well be that further powers might be given to these bodies, but that does not prove the necessity for so drastic a change as that proposed.

7. The Irish question would not be settled by devolution. The demand is for " Ireland a nation " and will only stop with complete separation.

8. An imperial council is all that is required in this connexion, and not a legislative body.

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SHOULD WE ABOLISH OUTDOOR RELIEF?

NO

1. Our workhouse system is very expensive, and is proved to be more costly, case for case, than outdoor relief; it would therefore be very unwise to interfere with the practice of outdoor relief, because the first effect would be the increase of our workhouse expenses.

2. Destitution is often brought about by misfortune, and not by fault, and it is not therefore right that the only relief should be the workhouse, which the poor regard naturally enough as being a disgrace.

3. Charity does not and cannot meet the case of distress and destitution, nor is it desirable that it should, for often pauperism increases in proportion to charity; outdoor relief, therefore, is inevitable.

4. It is impossible to force the poor to support their relatives, because in most cases they have all they can do to support themselves.

5. To stop outdoor relief in the present conditions of life would be harsh, because the poor have been accustomed to the system for so long; and unwise, because the result would be an immediate and alarming spread of extreme socialistic ideas.

YES

1. It is essentially an artificial help to the poor, and as such discourages thrift, and acts directly in favour of all

manner of deception, because adequate investigation of cases is practically impossible.

2. It does not save the recipient from starvation, because it is not sufficient in amount; it is a useless and insufficient dole.

3. Destitution is the only test of the poor law, and hence discrimination on moral grounds is hardly justifiable in administering its relief (and even if it were justifiable, it is not practically found to be possible); consequently this outdoor relief is looked upon by the poor as a recompense for having paid the rates and as a right.

4. This relief enables relatives to shirk their responsibilities. It is found that relatives as a rule are willing to help if the only alternative is the workhouse, but will not do anything so long as there is a chance of outdoor relief.

5. Outdoor relief tends to keep down wages by inadequately supplementing them.

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SHOULD ALL PATENTS BE ABOLISHED?

YES

1. A poor man rarely receives much benefit from a patent, for he has not the capital necessary to make the patent useful, and so has to sell it usually to a body of capitalists, who reap all the profit.

2. Patents directly assist in building up monopolies which become more and more oppressive to the people. Several of the large American trusts are greatly aided in maintaining their position by the fact that they have secured the exclusive privileges of valuable patents.

3. If the patent laws were repealed, then some more efficient means of rewarding inventors could be found; some honour might be conferred upon them or a sum of money proportioned to the value of their inventions.

4. Large companies of capitalists sometimes obtain the control of new inventions with a view of suppressing them, so as to save the expense of adapting existing machinery or buying new machinery. In this way self-interest has often held back progress through the operation of the patent laws.

5. Every invention ought to be used for the good of all, and not exploited for the good of a body of shareholders, as at present.

NO

1. Patents are the only encouragement which men of inventive faculty have for the exercise of their talent. No

one would take the necessary trouble to invent a new thing unless he were thus assured of some reward. A most useful class of men would be discouraged if the patent laws were abolished.

2. It is but right that those who by their capital actually bring the patent to bear upon life should be rewarded by a good profit. The original idea is the inventor's property, but if he sells it he has no cause of complaint if a company make a large profit out of it.

3. It would be almost impossible to find another means of rewarding the inventor, because the value of a patent is impossible to estimate before its utility has been actually tested.

4. Every law is open to some abuse, and there is no doubt the patent laws might be amended with advantage; but if they were repealed the result would be a serious loss to the whole nation.

5. Under the present system the company are the means whereby the invention is made available by all: if it were not for the company the inventor could seldom carry out his idea.

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HAVE WE TOO MANY PERIODICALS?

YES

1. The present multiplicity of periodicals tends to dissipate the mind and disincline it for any serious exertion.

2. The main aim of periodicals is to interest and amuse, and they contain almost no real enlightenment.

3. They disseminate a great deal of miscellaneous information, yet at the same time, by dissipating the energies of their readers, they are prejudicial to the acquirement of thorough knowledge, destroying orderly thought, critical judgment and persevering reading.

4. Each having a different object in view, they tend to confuse the public mind.

5. They give undue influence to passing phases of popular feeling, and hamper the government of the country by premature criticism; they condemn or approve equally without knowledge, and are swayed by party prejudice.

NO

1. If we look into the history of periodical literature, we see a marked advance upon the old time. Stories admitted then would not be looked at now, and in all departments there has been a most notable progress. This steadily rising standard in periodical literature points to a rising standard of public taste, and these two forces are thus seen to act and react beneficially upon each other.

2. We have come to see that the only way to enlighten is to interest, and that periodical literature, in making its

first aim to interest, is on the right line to awaken in the public a desire for things intellectual. Even the somewhat trashy forms of this literature stimulate minds which come under no other stimulus.

3. All true mental growth must be from within, and cheap, interesting periodicals are much more likely to foster this growth than any dry-as-dust matter, which makes no appeal to the average mind. Carlyle says: "I many a time say that the writers of newspapers, pamphlets, poems, books—these *are* the real, working, effective church of a modern country."

4. Those that exist for a special object are peculiarly useful in giving effective voice to certain schools of thought among the people.

5. They are the means of support to men of letters, who otherwise would be discouraged from writing at all.

6. They popularise science, politics and morals, and make the ideas of the few available for all.

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SHOULD OUR PRISONS BE REFORMED?

YES

1. That our present system of treating criminals is not really effective is plain from the statistics which show (*a*) that crime is steadily increasing with the population, (*b*) that casual criminals usually tend to become habituals under the present system, (*c*) that habitual criminals are not reclaimed, but are hardened and rendered sullen.

2. The idea underlying our prison system is "punishment," and this idea is radically wrong and inhuman. The true idea should be "reformation," and efforts should be directed not to the punishing of the criminal for being a bad citizen, but to the encouraging of him towards becoming a good citizen.

3. We are gradually coming to see that crime is a disease, and should be treated as such, that our prisons should become mental hospitals in which the prisoner's defective will is carefully exercised and his abnormality of mind reduced by surrounding him with healthful and sympathetic influences.

4. Prevention is better than cure, and it we were to spend upon enlightened preventive measures (*e.g.*, cheap transit to healthy neighbourhoods, education, public parks, open spaces and amusements, healthy literature, etc.) the sums we spend upon prisons, we should discover that the necessity for these prisons would decrease.

5. We make no distinction between the unfortunate, the

mentally defective, the bodily weak, the radically vicious, and those who are only too poor to pay a fine. We mete out the same unenlightened treatment to essentially different cases.

NO.

1. Though imprisonment may not be as effective a means of dealing with crime as could be desired, yet it is the only method which has been found practicable to secure the safety of society, and it would therefore be highly dangerous to try experiments which might give a fatal encouragement to crime.

2. The reason why we imprison a criminal is because he is dangerous to society—attempts at reformation have not been attended with encouraging results.

3. Crime is a vicious perversion of the will. If it is once allowed that crime is a disease, then moral responsibility is weakened, and the criminal begins to feel that he cannot help himself, and therefore ceases to make an effort towards the reform of his life.

4. Preventive measures should be adopted, but that does not mean that there should be any relaxation of our means of cure. As long as human nature lasts, education can never really take the place of prisons, which must always remain as a terror to the evil-doer.

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IS PROFIT-SHARING THE CURE FOR LABOUR-TROUBLES?

YES

1. This is the most equitable way of remunerating the three industrial agents, capitalist, employer, and employed, and gives satisfaction to all.

2. Under the profit-sharing system the product of any given industry tends to increase. The reason of this is that when the employé has a personal interest in the success of the undertaking, he becomes diligent, and ceases to aim at a minimum of work.

3. Under this system the quality of the work is raised: the workmen of the famous "Maison Leclaire" had a high reputation for skill.

4. A great waste is caused in every industry by careless use of implements and machines, but when the profit-sharing scheme is adopted, it is found that the workmen take much greater care of the implements entrusted to them, and the result is a great saving, which, in itself, goes a long way to pay the bonus to the men.

5. It secures industrial peace.

NO

1. It is not a practicable scheme now, because the tendency is for firms to enter into combination, and any firm not doing so suffers. It is only applicable, therefore, to the monopolies and the largest firms.

2. In the large majority of instances in which it has been tried, it has failed, and even the enthusiasts have been sadly disappointed.

3. Employés see that the scheme does not go to the root of the problem, and is only an unsatisfactory makeshift.

4. Workmen know that if any bonus is paid to them, it is only made possible by their own harder labour, and moreover that the bonus is only a part of the product of this increased labour, for the employer and capitalist get the lion's share first. The bonus bears no proportion to the wages, and is a small and delusive gain.

5. An industrial problem of ever-increasing magnitude and complexity is developing itself all the world over, and the coming crisis has not been, and cannot be, stayed by any such scheme as profit-sharing, which is good in name, but practically works out but little benefit to the workman. For the small benefit he receives, the workman has to sacrifice his right of striking, and thereby throws away his strongest industrial weapon.

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ARE BETTING AND GAMBLING IMMORAL?

YES

1. By a bet we commonly understand a money-wager which is staked or pledged on the issue of some future event or contest. Gambling means the playing of games for money or some other valuable stake. In both cases, the essential point is that property is risked, and gained or lost, as the result of chance. Such a transference is essentially irrational, and is degrading both to intelligence and to character.

2. The fascination of betting and gambling lies in the hope which they hold out of winning money without working for it. In other words they appeal to avarice and to sloth—two of the basest passions of human nature.

3. The demoralizing effects of this vice are evident from the fact that no business man would knowingly offer a position of trust to a gambler, while bookmakers are despised even by those who deal with them, and the betting ring on a race-course is haunted by the dregs of society.

4. The social dangers of betting and gambling are recognized by the laws with which civilized nations have endeavoured—more or less ineffectively—to restrain and prohibit these practices, at least in public.

5. The growth of gambling in England has become a national peril. Sport is being ruined, when not only horse-races but football, cricket, and every form of athletics are turned into an opportunity and excuse for making bets. While, especially since the introduction of "Bridge,"

gambling at clubs and in private houses has risen to a pitch which recalls the traditions of the eighteenth century. Even women, the poor as well as the rich, are infected with this dreadful passion. Titled ladies bet at Newmarket, and Lancashire factory girls take odds from a bookmaker on horses they have never seen.

6. In all kinds of wholesale trade the mania for speculation has increased, until only a small proportion of the total business done can be described as "legitimate." The bulk of the transactions recorded, however they may be disguised, are merely so much betting on the fluctuations of the market. Hence we have "panics on change," commercial crises, "corners" in wheat or in cotton, and other symptoms of business immorality.

7. Many evening newspapers exist mainly on the strength of the gambling news which they supply in such detail. It is greatly to be desired that more journals had courage to follow the example of the *Daily News*, and refused to publish any betting odds whatsoever.

8. Experience proves that a confirmed passion for gambling is one of the most difficult of all vices to cure. It must be compared, not to the craving for alcohol, but to the craving for opium.

9. In the face of facts like these, it becomes every good man's urgent duty to refrain absolutely from betting and gambling in every form.

NO

1. It is a fallacy to argue that everything which is "irrational,"—i.e. into which reason does not actively enter—must therefore be degrading. We find recreation, interest, and healthy excitement in many ways, which though not very philosophical, are quite innocent and wholesome. To bet a pair of gloves on the University Boat Race, and

to play at cards for halfpence at a Christmas party, are amusements which it is absurd to brand as "immoral." We should beware of creating "artificial sins."

2. It is a fallacy to argue that when two men bet, the winner takes money from the loser without giving him anything in return. The essence of a bet is, that two men agree to give one another the pleasurable excitement and expectation of winning. This is what they enjoy—not the mere money at stake, which is often of no real importance to either of them—and this is what the loser has his share in, just as much as the winner.

3. It is easy to point to abuses and excesses in any department of human life. But just as the sots in the tap-room do not make it wicked to drink a glass of beer, so the touts on a race-course do not make it wicked to play whist for small stakes. Many whist-players agree with Mrs. Sarah Battle, that the game is insipid unless some trifling sum is staked on it.

4. The complexity of modern commerce makes it impossible for a merchant to transact extensive business without some amount of speculative dealing in "futures." But this kind of business, when conducted in a legitimate manner so as to cover risks, really steadies the market and acts as a protection against those "cornering" operations which are correctly described as gambling on a great scale. Against this latter kind of gambling many legal remedies have been suggested, but none of them appear effectual.

5. The business of a newspaper is not to act as a censor, but to supply news; it rests with its readers to make such use of the news as they think best. But the editor who prints odds is not responsible for gambling—any more than the railway company which runs excursion trains to a race-meeting.

6. If working men bet and gamble in excess, this is from

a desire for some excitement to relieve the monotony of their lives, and the real remedy lies in improving the conditions under which they labour, and the homes in which they dwell.

7. While it is distinctly dishonest for any person to risk the loss of a sum which he cannot afford to pay, the immorality of small bets or of playing cards for small stakes has yet to be demonstrated.

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MANHOOD SUFFRAGE

FOR

1. Every adult male contributes to the public revenue, by rates and taxes; and to the public wealth by labour. He has a right therefore (unless he be a criminal, a lunatic, or a pauper) to a voice in making the laws, choosing the rulers, and deciding the policy of his country.

2. Government is vigorous and secure in proportion as it is "broad-based upon the people's will." Each section and each individual in the community has something to contribute to the problem of national self-government.

3. Nearly all civilized countries have already accepted this obvious corollary of Democratic principles. In France, Germany, and Italy, in the United States, and in our self-governing Colonies, manhood suffrage exists without evil results. Are Englishmen less fit to be trusted?

4. Manhood suffrage would not enfranchise any new class of voters, but only admit men to vote at an earlier age than at present. Those now excluded are mostly the younger men—quite up to the average elector in intelligence and education.

5. The franchise steadies and educates its possessor, and makes him realize his responsibility as a citizen and his interest in good government.

6. All branches of the franchise, especially the lodger vote, are full of complications and anomalies. Nothing but manhood suffrage can sweep these away and simplify and cheapen registration.

7. This is the logical sequence and completion of Parliamentary Reform which has hitherto involved none of the evils so freely prophesied of its earlier stages.

AGAINST

1. The object we have to aim at is—not that every one shall be gratified and flattered by a vote, but that the whole nation shall be governed by the best rulers in the best way. It would do wrong to the nation if the more thoughtful and educated classes were swamped by mere numbers.

2. Every one with any stake in the country is enfranchised already. Every thrifty and industrious man can qualify with ease. Why should we give votes wholesale to loafers and wastrels?

3. The average political intelligence of the electorate is too low already. Why should we lower it by including this residuum, composed mainly of the most ignorant and most unstable.

4. No class would be so readily open to bribery, more or less disguised.

5. No class would so readily vote for war, and extravagance, and the spoliation of property-holders.

6. Already we see even Conservative politicians truckling to the lowest class of electors, advocating State-philanthropy and socialistic poor-law experiments, and increasing the rates to an almost unbearable extent.

7. It may be questioned whether even in our Colonies manhood suffrage is a success. At any rate it would be folly to introduce it here, where no real demand for it exists.

IS THE PULPIT LOSING ITS POWER?

YES

1. In the early centuries preaching owed its phenomenal success to the novelty of the message it gave; but now Christianity has become so worked into our manner of thinking that preaching is only the ingenious repeating over and over again certain well-worn formulæ.

2. Until comparatively recent times the pulpit held its influence on account of the ignorance of the mass of the people, who consequently went to church to be taught; but now education has so spread that often the preacher is not so well informed as his hearers, with the natural result that this function of the pulpit is passing away.

3. It may be urged that ignorant fishermen at first converted the world, but those who urge this forget that they did so, not in virtue of their ignorance, but through the agency of alleged miracles, which cannot be performed by modern preachers. It is forgotten, also, that the spread of Christianity was more due to the educated Apostle Paul than to the fishermen.

4. Modern life is more peaceful than ancient, and we have found so much to interest us here in the world that we are less driven to seek consolation in the mysteries of religion.

5. Custom has made the functions of the pulpit so mechanical that there is very little real life and variety in sermons. Originality is crushed under the weight of conventional criticism.

6. People feel that they are hearing only one side of a question from the pulpit, for there is no real debate, and opposing views are not fairly stated. This indicates that preaching has already become formal, and is losing its influence.

7. The very conditions of the modern preacher's life secure that his preaching can have but little real influence. He lives so much in the public eye and his life is so exactly like that of other men that he dare not boldly denounce prevailing sins for fear of a *tu quoque*: it is plain, on the other hand, that the ancient preachers were influential largely on account of their bold denouncing of sin, having no fear of this *tu quoque*, because their lives seemed manifestly devoted and essentially different from other men's.

8. Taking the average of modern preaching, there is a want of ability, piety, culture and training, which makes its decay inevitable.

9. There are so many conflicting interests in a modern congregation that preaching, not to give offence, has to be nearly colourless. This restraint of warmth and zeal and genuine conviction by prudential considerations is the death of modern preaching.

NO

1. Christianity appeals to the radical needs of men, which are ever the same, and faithful preaching of the Gospel message can never become out of date, because men must always have some eternal truth to live upon.

2. The teaching function of the pulpit has by no means passed away, for there are always changes in our theological views, developments of Christianity, adaptations of the Gospel to present-day conditions which make efficient preaching one of the most urgent needs of our day.

3. The intellectual standing of the clergy is no test of the influence of the pulpit, for the Gospel owed its original successes to the efforts of uneducated fishermen. As long as there is any zeal left in the church, the influence of the pulpit cannot decay.

4. That modern life is more peaceful than ancient is all the more reason for the necessity of vigorous pulpit work to rouse the consciences which are especially liable to go to sleep in times of peace. The pulpit is far the most effective means of awakening the conscience.

5. Wherever a preacher has the strength of mind to be himself and fearlessly preach his message, then the people fill his church, showing that the tyranny of custom is not such as to effectively prevent originality, but rather that the conditions of modern life encourage it.

6. Mere controversial preaching is fortunately passing out of fashion, but preaching that deals directly with the heart and life never fails to attract men. This preaching has nothing to do with controversy, but deals with the love of God and the duty we owe to our neighbour.

7. Really influential preaching cannot come from any but a very sincere and good man, and this is well. Wherever such a man is found in the pulpit, his preaching is full of influence. In ancient times great fraud and hypocrisy were possible because often the reputed monastic saint could ill afford to have his private life examined as are the private lives of the modern clergy.

8. Ancient preachers often attained their power by the aid of countless superstitions which have now passed away, and consequently, though the outward effect of modern preaching may seem to be less, yet the real moral and spiritual influence of it is greater, because it has shaken itself free from superstition and hypocrisy.

9. Colourless preaching empties a church, and preachers

are driven by the force of competition to make their message interesting and attractive.

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matism

WHICH EXERTS THE GREATER INFLUENCE—THE PULPIT OR THE PRESS?

THE PULPIT

1. The personal power of the spoken word is stronger than any written teaching.

2. The laws of pulpit teaching are all founded on eternal verities, untainted by class interests and party passions.

3. The witness of the pulpit is steady. The teaching of the press changes to suit changing circumstances.

4. The pulpit goes to the root of difficulties, and does not merely seek out their immediate causes, as the press is wont to do.

5. The pulpit appoints duties to the individual man, and bids him be healed himself first, and then cure the ills of his neighbours.

6. Pulpit teaching is pitched at a higher level than that attained by the majority of those who listen to it, and that with the aim of raising them. The press, on the other hand, reflects the tone of those it speaks to.

7. The pulpit is single in its aim—the preaching of the Gospel—while the press is mixed in its influence, and strengthens too much the gambling and brutal tendencies of people by the publication of betting lists, police news, and low-class fiction.

8. Preachers are as a rule better, in both education and morals, than journalists.

9. The pulpit is more uniformly on the side of righteousness. The press is apt to wait until a good cause is successful before espousing it.

10. The pulpit will always be stronger, as it caters for the abiding needs of the soul, while the press only attends to the needs of the day.

11. The pulpit reaches an illiterate class over which the press can have no power.

12. The pulpit treats of large ideas, while the press supplies a superficial, scrappy knowledge of men and facts.

THE PRESS

1. The press has a far wider audience, and more frequent opportunities of using its influence.

2. The press keeps us in touch with the daily life of our fellow-men and with humanity, while the pulpit too often deals with abstractions too vague to have any real interest or power.

3. Thousands who never enter a church do read newspapers, which have this peculiarity, that they must be interesting.

4. Sermons are too often devoted less to the problems of daily life than to the problems of modern thought, and even these problems are treated with so much caution that many preachers only succeed in saying an infinite deal of nothing.

5. The pulpit cannot enter into such practical labours as the reform of abuses, the detection of crime, the exposure of villainy and the like.

6. The press widens the scope of the reader's mind, and teaches sympathy with others—a real human sympathy.

7. "An author can creep into the soul, and is the more readily admitted because his approaches seem so silent

and unintentional." There is far less personal dogmatism and dictation in the press.

8. An idea, all too well founded, is abroad that the church is adopted as a profession to gain a livelihood, often by men "who could not earn sixpence a day in any other profession," and this idea has a natural tendency to undermine the influence of the pulpit.

9. The press is free to attack all evils: the pulpit is timid about even mentioning them. The preacher often dare not preach boldly on practical righteousness for fear first of a *tu quoque*, and second, of offending some influential, *i.e.* wealthy, member.

10. The rigour of editorial selection prevents lengthiness, and keeps the issues of a subject clearly before the readers of a newspaper. A newspaper dare not be prosy, dogmatic, or wearisome.

11. Preaching is often entirely above the heads of the people, but the amazing popularity of the press is a sure sign that it reaches them.

12. The press brings the whole world under the eye of its readers; its interest is as wide as humanity and deep as the life of man, whereas the average preacher is a man who has confined his spirit within the narrow bounds of some system of theology.

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SHOULD THE REFERENDUM BE INTRODUCED INTO ENGLISH POLITICS?

YES

1. Real local representation is an impossibility, because there are so many conflicting interests and views in any given locality, that any majority is usually found to indicate the trend of feeling on only one or two points which were made prominent in the election, while if other points had been made prominent, the majority would have been on the other side. Thus large sections of the community are wholly unrepresented. Representation of the various classes in the community, or of the different schools of thought, would be much fairer, but direct legislation by the adoption of some form of the Referendum is evidently the true solution of the difficulty.

2. There are far more than two political parties in this country, and all these various views are not represented. The Temperance party is inadequately represented, also the Labour party, the Nonconformists, the Educationists, etc. Our present system gives disproportionate weight to the views of capitalists, landlords, military men, lawyers and State clergy.

3. It is so difficult for one man to represent another that it is plainly impossible for one man to represent a whole locality. Party pledges and election programmes do not bind the members, who act largely according to their own private views.

4. Direct legislation is at work to-day in Switzerland, and

gives every satisfaction. Direct legislation is the key to all reform, for it concentrates the attention of the people upon measures rather than upon men, and when the people want a reform, they can get it without being thwarted by the scheming of monopolists. It would represent every class of voter, and hence work directly towards social peace and contentment.

5. It could be adopted gradually, and even after it was fully at work Parliament would still be necessary for drafting bills and detail work. The Referendum is the best education of the people in self-government.

NO

1. Our representative system might be cautiously improved, but there is no necessity to go to the extreme of the Referendum.

2. Under the Referendum enlightened government would be impossible, for great issues are often not half understood by the people, and would be decided not on reasonable but upon sentimental grounds.

3. The House of Lords and the public press are sufficient safeguards against hasty legislation, and if the Referendum were introduced, the debates in Parliament would lose tone, and the mere agitator would have far too much influence.

4. Switzerland is too small to give any evidence of how such a system would work in a powerful nation. The people, with true instinct, prefer to vote for men in whom they have confidence than for measures the working of which they do not fully understand. If the legislature of the country has the interests of the people at heart, direct legislation is unnecessary; and if they have not these interests at heart, it is impossible to pass the Referendum—therefore in the one case the proposal is needless, and in the other impossible.

5. People are best educated in self-government on the representative system, and at the same time have the advantage of many safeguards against their own rashness.

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CAN A MAN GET RICH HONESTLY?

YES

1. The principles upon which all commerce is founded are sound at the core, and it is only the greed and selfishness of man which pervert them; a man can become rich by honest industry to-day as surely as he could a hundred years ago.

2. It is a fact of experience that those who pay due attention to the needs of their employés, and conduct their business according to the dictates of a high sense of honour, fare the best in the long run, however dishonest practices seem to flourish for the time.

3. Competition is a law of nature, and though a man may be compelled to supplant other men in order to become rich, he nevertheless acts with perfect fairness according to the laws he finds in operation in the world.

4. We must accept facts as they are, for no good ever came of dreaming. These facts show us that it is the fittest man who becomes rich. There can be nothing wrong, then, in a man who is fit exerting himself to "come out on top" in the struggle of life.

5. It is but right that the man who starts a new industry, or increases the productiveness of an old one, or who so organizes the labour he has at his command that the world can get certain goods cheaper than before, should enjoy large fruits of his labour. As he does more for the race than his workman does, he should, of course, have a much

higher reward. The rules of political economy, fortunately, demonstrate themselves in spite of the faddists.

6. Christianity does not condemn the wealthy, but points out to all the responsibilities attaching to their various stations in life. As a matter of fact the rich are, as a rule, far more honest in facing their responsibilities than the poor. The upright and deserving are more and more gaining the rewards of life.

NO

1. There are so many shady transactions in commerce that our sense of what is honest has become blunted. It is possible now for a man to spend his life gambling on the Stock Exchange, and to delude himself into the idea that he is perfectly honest.

2. The royal road to getting rich is to pay employés a minimum wage and extort from them a maximum amount of work. The less scruple a man has in this respect, the more certain is he of becoming rich.

3. The law of competition is a cruel, modern superstition, under which good men and true are driven to the wall in order that men who have hardened their hearts may succeed.

4. It is not the fittest who survive, but those who have exceptional opportunities, and those who are not too scrupulous. If a man possesses any extraordinary wealth to-day, it may be taken for granted (for so close are the relations of society) that a large number of his fellow-men have to suffer for it, both those whom he has cut out and those whom he oppresses.

5. The wealth of the world has become fabulous, yet happiness does not increase with it. The relations of life are becoming more and more marked by suspicion, hatred and

discontent; the very wealthy are not happy, because they feel in their consciences that they have secured more than their fair share of the good things of the world, and the poor are wretched beyond expression, seeing no way of escape, and yet knowing well that all the political economy in the world cannot justify one man in possessing more money than he can throw away, while another has none at all.

6. The spirit of Christianity is utterly opposed to the idea of one man absorbing abnormal wealth. The luxury seen on every hand to-day is simply an indication that we are pagan at heart though we profess Christianity with our lips. It is possible to become wealthy without transgressing the world's standard of honesty, but it is not possible without violating the Christian standard.

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THE LESS THE STATE MEDDLES WITH THE INDIVIDUAL THE BETTER

AFFIRMATIVE

1. Men have attained to character and self-reliance in proportion as they have enjoyed liberty, and hence, every unnecessary extension of the functions of government, being a restriction of liberty, must thereby have a deteriorating effect upon men.

2. At no time in the history of the human race has the principle of individual liberty been carried out so thoroughly as during the nineteenth century, and at no time has the general advance all along the line been more marked. We see also that in those countries which have been the most free has the advance been the most rapid and permanent—this is manifest from the condition of Great Britain and America.

3. Innumerable instances of the failure of legislatures to see the disastrous effects of their own control can be cited from the past (see *The Sins of Legislators*, by Herbert Spencer); but it is sufficient for us to point now to the War Office and the Admiralty to become convinced of the waste of public money occasioned by government control, and this waste, be it remembered, entails the cramping of private enterprise and checking of national prosperity.

4. The whole science of biology would teach us that competition is the force which produces progress, and if

competition is limited by government, the only effect must be degeneration.

5. Individualists are not blind to the present evils of society, but they maintain that the true way to cure them is through private enterprise; *e.g.*, that the evil of overcrowding and bad housing is best met by individuals investing their money in popular improvements, which, if efficiently carried out on business principles, would certainly pay.

NEGATIVE

1. Unrestrained liberty is a barbaric ideal, and true liberty can only exist through men voluntarily submitting to restraints for the public good. It is the practical acceptance of this ideal which alone makes government possible, and according as this ideal is better realized will the functions of government increase.

2. In full accordance with this principle it appears that those countries which are most free show the greatest development of the functions of government, both municipal and parliamentary, and the greatest amount of prosperity. Careful distinction must, of course, be made between a one-man tyranny, which is the denial of liberty, and a popular government, which is the highest form of liberty.

3. All true progress is attained through mistakes, and, though the sins of legislators can be pointed to, yet wisdom has been learned by these sins, and the lesson to be read from them is not to restrict the functions of popular government, but rather to increase them; for it is plain that according as popular government is extended, so are public spirit, self-sacrifice, general intelligence and enlightenment extended, and according as popular government is restricted in its powers, so is license given to the destructive forces of selfishness, fraud, and greed.

4. This is disputed. The survival of the fittest is not necessarily the survival of the best. Herbert Spencer's arguments from biology are opposed by Professor Huxley ("Administrative Nihilism" in Vol. 1 of his *Collected Essays*—Macmillan). Society is an organism, and only by the extending of the control of the central power can harmony be reached.

5. It follows then that true liberty is secured by more extended, willing, and self-sacrificing submission for the public good, true equality by the spreading of education by government, and true fraternity by the realization of common life in popular government. This tendency is rapidly developing itself, and as it develops, the good of the majority is gradually attained.

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DOES SECTARIANISM SPOIL CHRISTIANITY?

YES

1. The second great principle of Christianity is, "Love thy neighbour as thyself," and sectarianism is a violation of this, producing discord, competition, and uncharitableness.

2. When Christians are not only divided but bitterly opposed, the outsider has fair ground for scoffing.

3. Sectarianism leads to a waste of energy, a waste of money, and a waste of life.

4. Sectarianism is a serious difficulty in the way of missionary enterprise, because the heathen mind is so confused by the different teachings of Christians as to be easily led into entire scepticism.

5. It swells the ranks of the clergy, and, by making the competition between them so sharp, leads them to resort to various objectionable forms of advertising which bring discredit on the cause they advocate by reducing it to the level of a commercial undertaking.

NO

1. If Christians are to carry out the principle of "Love thy neighbour" thoroughly, it is necessary they should allow their neighbour the same freedom of thought and conscience as they demand for themselves, and this leads to sectarianism.

2. The differences in thought among Christians should lead outsiders to a confidence in their sincerity, because,

knowing the advantages of union, they still prefer to remain separate for conscience' sake.

3. Under sectarianism there is a great deal more zeal in the devotion of energy, money, and life to the cause of Christ than there could be under any system of monotonous uniformity.

4. Sectarianism gives colour, richness, and variety to the Christian faith, and enables it to develop in different directions, "lest one good custom should corrupt the world."

5. The number of the clergy, and the consequent competition, are good, for this is a sign that a great deal of Christian work is being done, the quality of which is kept up by the competition.

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SOCIALISM

NOTE.—All serious continental writers understand Socialism to mean some form of society in which all the instruments of production are held and used by the State

IN FAVOUR OF SOCIALISM

1. When we look into the history of society, we see that from the beginning there has been a steady progress: at first the lowest class were slaves, then in process of time they developed into serfs, and finally they have become the modern wage-earners. There is no reason, however, to suppose that this is the end of this development; on the contrary, the lowest class is rapidly being drilled and educated preparatory to taking another step in advance, a step which must lead them from the position of being the slaves of capital to the position of being its controllers. The public control of capital for the public benefit is becoming more possible, even probable, as time advances.

2. History clearly shows the gradual rise of the *bourgeoisie*—the serfs of the middle ages became the chartered burghers of the earliest towns, and gradually, as commerce increased and markets were opened, the control of the world's capital passed into the hands of this *bourgeoisie*. Now there are many signs that the *bourgeoisie* are finding the management of all this capital too large an undertaking. That this class is failing to control its vast resources is seen in the constant occurrence of strikes and commercial crises

brought about by competitive exploitation of labour and competitive over-production. As long as the competitive system holds, the condition of labour can only become worse, and the periodic commercial crises more serious. The times are evidently becoming ripe for the great body of the people to take over the control of their own capital.

3. The policy of reaction, or *laissez-faire*, cannot prevent the issue; the time is past, also, when mere reform of things under the present system will avail. Philanthropy and private charity have failed to cope with the intensifying evils—the reason for this being that society is outgrowing its present form; and so acute is this feeling that men are divided into two hostile camps—the rich and the poor, capital and labour. In this antagonism and stress the most enlightened spirits of the day see the birth-pangs of a new era, when socialism shall take the place of competition.

4. Socialism does not contradict political economy, because political economy is only the statement of the consequences which must and do follow, given the basis of the present social condition. Socialism, however, lays stress on the fact that it is the present social condition which is at fault and must be altered. Clearly, then, socialism in no way contradicts political economy.

5. Already the members of the productive class are so numerous and well disciplined that half the socialistic theory is being carried out, viz., social production—and it only remains, therefore, to socialize capital. The tendency of capital now is to become massed together in ever-growing quantities, worked by huge trusts and syndicates, and soon it will only require a single step to socialize it.

6. When this takes place it will be only the carrying out of the leading principles of the Gospel, and, in fact, socialism should be considered as the natural result of so many

centuries of preaching, which is at last beginning to work down into practical life. This position is illustrated by the success of Catholic socialism in Germany and Christian socialism all over the world.

7. Socialism has long passed out of the stage of mere Utopian dreaming in which it existed in the time of Owen. Now it is a reasoned theory on a scientific basis, a rationally active force impelling an irresistible development of society.

8. The extreme views on religion and on marriage put forward by some socialists are quite accidental to socialism, and form no necessary or desirable part of it.

9. Anarchy and nihilism have only arisen where it became practically impossible to achieve any ordered reform. This was clearly the case in Russia, where it was not till law-abiding efforts had been ruthlessly suppressed that nihilism appeared.

10. Only under socialism will it be possible for men to develop a true freedom. The present conditions of life inevitably imply an ever-increasing severity of labour for the masses in order that the privileged few may accumulate hoards of wealth. Freedom at present for the majority of men is sentimental only, but under socialism it would become practical.

11. Our present system calls forth the keenest selfishness, and a conscientious man is at a hopeless disadvantage; but socialism would by its very nature necessarily develop a higher and better national character, because, under the new system, men would inevitably seek the good of the community first; instead of the love of money, the impelling force would be love of honour (which even at present is a more efficient spur to action than the love of money).

12. There is now a vast commercial waste in adver-

tising, administrative expenses of rival companies and the like. Under socialism this waste would be avoided, and goods would be made for use, and not be merely got up to sell.

AGAINST

1. The public at large would not be capable of managing their own capital, and experience derived from workmen's associations demonstrates this. Working men are apt to think of capitalists as being a leisured class, and they have no idea of the difficulties of managing a large business.

2. In spite of strikes and commercial crises, the business of the world is very effectively carried on by private enterprise. Moreover, the triumphs of this century have resulted from the competitive system and the principle of individual liberty. The present system is not ideal, but under it the condition of all classes has materially improved, and any interruption of this progress would bring widespread ruin.

3. Competition (with the survival of the fittest) is a law of nature, and no artificial arrangement such as socialism can prevent the operation of this law. We see how salutary the working of competition is in keeping ordinary business upon sound lines, and how mismanagement follows at once when it is removed (as in the case of water companies).

4. Political economy has established the leading laws of exchange, and socialism is a direct contradiction of this whole science, and as such has to be relegated to the realm of the impracticable.

5. The conditions of modern industry demand, more than ever, capable brains for management, and it is only just that this hard brain-work should be better paid than the

mere manual toil. Even if socialism were established, ability would rapidly come to the top and incapacity sink to the bottom of the scale, and the present state of things would not be long in renewing itself.

6. This is merely the attempt to give Divine sanction to an Utopian dream. A practical demonstration of the terrible evils which would ensue if socialism were to prevail was afforded by the French Revolution of 1848 (*vide* Louis Blanc's unsuccessful attempts to give work to all). If the business of the government of the country were given over to the ignorance and prejudice of the people, everything would be at the mercy of the most effective speaker, and continuous, sound business policy would be an impossibility.

7. Government is scarcely equal now to the duties imposed upon it, and, manifestly, if its duties were largely increased, as under socialism they must be, it would simply break down and anarchy be the result. Great progress has been made, and is being made, under the competitive system, and socialism would bring this to an end. Experience proves that it is under stress, trial and difficulty that the best qualities of men emerge, and if men were lifted into a condition of physical comfort, degeneration would inevitably be the result. As Benjamin Kidd points out in *Social Evolution*, every quality of the mind and body of man is the product of competition, and nothing but evil can follow from transporting him into unnatural conditions.

8. The extreme views which most socialists hold on religion and marriage show that the natural tendency of the movement would be to materially damage the Church and the family, the two bulwarks of national morality.

9. There is a tendency for thorough-going socialists to develop into anarchists and nihilists. That socialism

makes its strongest appeal to the lowest classes is an indication that it finds its real lever in self-interest. It stirs up a class warfare which is ever on the point of breaking into violence, and if there is to be any hope for ordered society, it must be consistently resisted.

10. Socialism would establish a worse despotism than the world has ever seen. It would enfeeble self-reliance and individuality, and reduce all men to the same dependence upon the State. The result would be that the lazy and inefficient would live upon the labour of the industrious and capable.

11. Our present system deals with the social crisis through philanthropic effort, and thus the evil is to some extent mitigated by being the cause and occasion of so much self-sacrifice and devotion. Under socialism this private philanthropy would be replaced by State philanthropy, and the result would be the loss of character in individuals.

12. Under present conditions the pressure of competition and the desire to make things sell produce a high average of work, for unless articles are well made they will not sell; but under socialism the articles not being made to sell, or being put under the whip of competition, would degenerate in workmanship until all goods would fall to a dead level of average sameness, and all special excellence, which is the condition of progress, would be discouraged. We see this proved by the fact that the effect of trades unions to-day is to reduce skilled labour to the level of the unskilled.

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ARE WE TOO FOND OF SPORT?

YES

1. The conditions of modern life are such that a man must give his entire attention to his own business, and it is partly because we, as a nation, are so taken up with sport, that the trade of the country suffers and the industrious foreigner outstrips us.

2. Sport develops selfishness, as is seen in the case of fox-hunting, when the hunters ride down fences, gallop over newly-sown crops, and cut up the grass land when it is soaked with rain.

3. Sport degrades those who follow it by raising in them the spirit of cruelty; witness the savagery connected with hunting tame deer, with pigeon-shooting and with rat-catching.

4. Betting, inseparably connected with sport, is one of the blots upon our fair name as a nation.

5. Hunting in a wild country stands on quite a different level, because there is a necessity for man to preserve his life and to protect his family and flocks; but stay-at-home sport is merely contemptible, pandering to cruelty and vanity, without leading men into anything which can be called danger or developing anything worthy the name of courage.

6. Our modern sports do not materially differ from old ones, which were condemned as brutal. Stag-hunting does not differ, except in non-essential details, from bull-baiting.

NO

1. Sport calls forth manliness, readiness and resource, and is the real cause of many of the moral qualities which make Englishmen great.

2. Sport is thoroughly popular among the poor, and though there are some complaints of the damage done by fox-hunters, the farmers very readily get compensation. Few of the rustics themselves want the game laws abolished, for they know it would soon mean the extinction of game.

3. If such sensitive notions of cruelty are to prevail, then we shall soon be driven into vegetarianism, and be generally at the mercy of faddists.

4. All arguments concerned with betting have nothing to do with the discussion, because betting is not sport, but merely an accidental accompaniment, practised mostly by those who are mere spectators.

5. Men must have amusement of some kind, and under present conditions that kind of sport is the best which is pursued in the open air. There is, admittedly, a certain amount of cruelty to individual animals, but against this has to be set all the invigoration of mind and body and spirit which the sportsmen gain.

6. There is a radical difference between the old inhumanities of bull- and bear-baiting, prize-fighting, etc., and modern field sports, and the conscience of the country is pretty clear in the matter. It is very doubtful if the lower animals suffer pain to any considerable extent; contortions and writhings are usually muscular reactions, and often take place without pain even in men.

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OUGHT THE STATE TO OWN ALL RAILWAYS, MINES, CANALS, ETC.?

YES

A. RAILWAYS

1. The Government has made a success of the Post Office and the telegraph service, and why should they not make the same success of the railways?

2. It would lead to a reduction in fares.

3. The misunderstanding between competing lines would be removed, with the result that there would be better connections, and there would not be any of the expenditure now wasted on competing trains. The cost of working the railways would thus be much less, and their convenience to the public largely increased.

4. The railways could be a large source of profit to the Government.

5. The present competition among railways is an advantage to the public, but it is an advantage only secured at a ruinous cost to the companies, who usually, therefore, come to terms, and the public thus lose the benefit of the competition.

6. The railways are worked by the State in many European countries, and worked successfully.

7. The present directors could be dispensed with, and only those officials maintained who were necessary for the working of the railway. This would effect great economy.

8. Instead of the present multitude of rules, regulations and bye-laws, there would be but one set, and so every one

would know exactly what to expect and what he must pay for himself and his goods.

9. The working expenses being reduced and the fares lower, more use would be made of the railways, and many who now have to live in town could then live in the country.

10. The expense of State purchase is always exaggerated, and the profits of the Government would soon make up for the outlay on purchase.

11. The railways have instituted preferential rates in favour of foreign goods, and this would be stopped if they were nationalized.

B. MINES, CANALS, TELEPHONES AND THE LIKE

1. Such public works as the laying of tramways, tele phones, canals and the like, when worked by private companies, afford too good an opportunity for the growth of grave abuses by reason of the exceptional powers which have to be conferred upon the companies, and they are, therefore, better managed by the State.

2. When these special powers are given to private companies, the result is that there is at once the growth of an immense "interest," often a monopoly, which sometimes becomes so powerful as to be able to corrupt the legislature. Examples of this are conspicuous in America.

3. A public transaction is open to criticism at every stage, and jobbery is hardly possible; but when any public work is operated by private enterprise, then the accounts are not public property, and jobbery can flourish undetected.

4. The operation of public works by private companies presents so strong a temptation to sharp practice that it is not right for any State to lay such a temptation before any of its citizens.

5. When the State controls its own large enterprises, then it can correct its own mistakes; but when charters are granted to private companies, then there is no ready remedy, but abuses have to be endured till the charter expires.

6. State monopoly is not monopoly in an evil sense, for it is under the control of the mass of the electorate. Experience has proved that State monopoly, so far from implying a decrease in the general prosperity, secures valuable additions to the public resources.

NO

A. RAILWAYS

1. The analogy between the Post Office and the railways does not hold, as the conditions of the services are quite different.

2. When we view the amount of capital required and the stock owned, we see that not the Post Office, but the Admiralty is the true parallel, and this would lead us not to trust the railways to the State.

3. The circumlocution of Government offices and the slowness of Parliamentary control, would be adverse to the effective management of the railways.

4. Continental State railways are well known for their high rates and inefficiency.

5. If competition were removed by the State purchase of railways, a period of official sluggishness and inertia would be introduced.

6. Fares are now at about their lowest point, being brought down to that point by competition, and if the competition were removed, these fares would not be likely to be reduced further.

7. The railways at present are sure to be managing their business as economically as is practically possible, and if the Government took them over, no great economy could be

effected; but on the contrary, there might well be a considerable loss.

8. The bye-laws are at present fairly uniform, and the differences between them do not occasion any real inconvenience.

9. The probability is that the local trains would not be so well managed as at present, and people living in the country would not be able to rely on their morning train.

10. The expense of purchase would be enormous, and the prospect of profit to the Government very scanty.

B. MINES, CANALS, TELEPHONES AND THE LIKE

1. A company is driven by self-interest to make its service thoroughly efficient and economical, and the public is best served in this way.

2. Abuses can be put down by law; but if the State takes over the control of its own works, then at once there is inefficiency, officialdom and red-tape, high salaries and pensions, involving a greater waste of money than the abuses of private enterprise.

3. Every work, whether private or public, must be put into the open market to be competed for, and only by this means can prices be kept down. State departments are not actually open to criticism more than private enterprises, as witness the Admiralty and the War Office.

4. Jobbery cannot be prevented by the State taking the work in hand. Whether there is jobbery or not depends entirely on the character of individual men, and not upon whether the undertaking is public or private.

5. By granting charters under conditions, the State often obtains great benefits, by the vast exertions of private enterprise. Whole colonies have been first developed by private endeavour under charter, and finally taken over by the

Government as valuable territory. This was the case with India, and shows how well private and public enterprise dovetail.

6. State trading implies restriction and monopoly, which act as a powerful check on the energy and effort of the members of the State. Thus the more the State controls industry, the less will be the prosperity of the State.

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IS SUICIDE EVER JUSTIFIABLE?

NO

1. The disposal of our lives is in the hands of God, and it is impious for a man to take up arms against his own life and rush into the presence of God unsummoned.

2. "You are placed by Providence, like a sentinel in a particular station, and when you desert it without being recalled, you are equally guilty of rebellion against your Almighty Sovereign, and have incurred His displeasure."

3. Suicide is cowardly desertion and a failure to play one's part in the world and do one's duty to one's neighbour.

4. Suicide is now justly regarded as a crime which Christianity absolutely forbids, and we cannot escape from this conviction, unless we are willing to relapse into paganism.

5. The practice of suicide is the outcome of the selfish view of life, which makes a man so self-centred that he regards his own pleasures and pains as all-important. In short, all morbidity is selfish and cannot be justified, except upon a false, individualistic view of the world.

6. Suicide is the outrage of one of the great laws of nature—the law of self-preservation—and hence, science must condemn suicide.

YES

1. If this argument has any weight, it must be equally immoral for a man to save his life when he is in imminent danger, from the fear that he may be prolonging his life beyond what was intended for him, and be failing to appear before God when he is summoned.

2. This argument must also be extended if true, and it at once becomes immoral to interfere with nature in any way, whether to divert the course of a river, pull down a tree or blow up an obstruction. If God has all things under His sovereignty, then He has my life in His hands; and if He has made me so miserable that I care no longer for my life, then surely I may regard this as a summons to leave the world, and a full justification of my action.

3. If the action is in any way prejudicial to society, then it may be immoral; but what if the action is beneficial to society by removing a person suffering from a hopeless and infectious disease, and beneficial to a large circle of relations and friends, by removing from them a heavy load of care and expense? Then suicide is not only justifiable, but noble.

4. Christianity nowhere forbids suicide, but has left the question to be settled by the good sense of each man. Such is the natural fear of death that nothing but the greatest misery of body or mind ever drives a man to suicide. Given this great misery, then Christianity itself would shrink from preventing a hapless human being availing himself of the only escape from hopeless wretchedness.

5. This argument rests on a confusion. The soldier who volunteers for a forlorn hope is a suicide, yet his deed is applauded, though he may have no higher motive than a desire for notoriety. It would not be well for society if pure altruism were to prevail, and the first effect of such

pure altruism would be an immense number of suicides from the unselfish motive of reducing the competition of life.

6. In the case of many suicides this instinct of self-preservation does not exist, but an equally natural impulse towards self-destruction does exist. In fact, many of the weak, diseased, degenerate and abnormal would be going contrary to the promptings of nature if they did not commit suicide. How can we condemn suicide in the case of a man wishing to escape torture by Red Indians, or of the ladies in the Indian Mutiny eager to escape dishonour at the hands of the Sepoys, or in any similar case? If we make exceptions of these, we agree that suicide is, under certain conditions, justifiable.

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IS OUR SUNDAY BEING SPOILED?

YES

1 The Sunday rest is of Divine appointment, and as such is binding upon all.

2. The experience of the world has proved that the health of men requires one day's rest in seven. Where this beneficent rule is not obeyed, not only the health, but the quality of work done rapidly degenerates.

3. The increasing prevalence of Sunday trading is due to the greed of individuals desirous of taking advantage of their fellows at all costs. It is right to restrain this selfishness for the public welfare, even if it should prove necessary to use compulsion.

4. The conditions of competition in modern life are such that if any considerable number of men engage in business on Sunday, all are compelled to do the same or suffer commercial extinction. Society is justified, therefore, in taking the most active measures to put a stop to a growing evil which threatens to tyrannise over all.

5. Our Sunday laws are out of date, and there is little effort made to enforce them. The whole question needs to be discussed, and enlightened legislation upon it is essential.

6. Travelling on Sunday is becoming more and more common, and soon the peace of the day will be ruined by this alone.

7. Sunday is being spoiled by concerts and every variety of amusement of which we have only too much on week-days.

NO

1. The Sabbath law is an old Jewish law, and has no validity for modern life apart from considerations of general, public utility and convenience.

2. The tendency of competition and the strain of modern life cannot be resisted by sentimental considerations. It may be desirable to maintain the sanctity of the Sunday, but it is not possible under modern conditions.

3. There is far too much State interference with private enterprise already. It is a distinct infringement of the great principle of the right of private judgment to prevent any one from doing business on Sunday if he finds it either necessary or convenient.

4. If Sunday trading is injurious, then those who practise it will not flourish in the long run, and there is no need for others to follow their example; if, however, Sunday trading does not prove injurious, then the main argument against it is proved by facts to be ill-founded: in either case there is no need for any agitation on the subject, for it is one of those economic questions which inevitably work out their own solution.

5. Sunday travelling is simply a necessity, for it is the only day in the week many people get for a country walk.

6. Most people are now worked so hard that Sunday is the only day upon which amusement is possible to them. Sunday concerts do more good to tired workers than any number of sermons.

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ARE THE RESULTS OF SUNDAY SCHOOLS SATISFACTORY?

NO

1. The spiritual faculties can only be truly developed on the basis of the moral faculties, and Sunday Schools, by attempting to develop the spiritual faculties before this necessary basis is laid, have often no effect upon the children, and sometimes turn them into hypocrites.

2. Children are trained in dogma before they can possibly understand it, and as they are naturally dissatisfied with the dogmas they cannot understand, they are early led to an attitude of suspicion and distrust in religious matters.

3. The Bible is used as a task-book, the facts of which they must "get up," and many passages of which they must learn, with the result that they early contract a dislike for it, and in their mature years make little use of it.

4. In Sunday Schools this task-work is so closely connected with worship by the compulsory learning of hymns, creeds, and prayers, that the child early begins to feel an impatience of public worship which manifests itself in later years in slack church attendance. The pressure also which the parents bring to bear upon the children to make them attend the school defeats its object by rousing their opposition.

5. The instruction is often left in the hands of narrow-minded teachers, and the children thereby obtain a wrong

conception of Christianity, which they afterwards revolt from as unreasonable. In this way children are taught as ascertained facts what they afterwards discover to be mere hypotheses, and are even trained to credit as matters of history what they afterwards find to be legends.

6. Children are sick of weekday school drill, and want a quiet Sunday.

YES

1. Religion is the only basis for morals, and it is therefore right and necessary that children's education should begin with religion, and the Sunday Schools are the best means of systematic training on these lines.

2. A certain amount of dogma is necessary even for children before they can understand the nature of Christianity, and they are wisely taught in Sunday Schools in early life to make these essential dogmas matters of faith. Faith is a faculty as much as reason, and unless it is early trained it becomes weak from lack of use.

3. The Bible, containing the revelation of God, cannot be too early explained to children, and it is easy to teach them to regard it with reverence, not as a task-book. By inducing them to learn selected passages by heart the teacher permanently lodges truth in their minds which cannot but bear fruit in their after-life.

4. True worship is a habit of the soul, and those habits which the children early acquire have a permanent influence on their lives. When men and women neglect public worship, the cause is often to be found in the lack of Sunday School teaching in their youth. So much is the truth of this felt in Wales that Sunday School teaching there is often continued into mature life to the great benefit of the people.

5. Sunday Schools should have nothing to do with questions of Biblical criticism, but the simple teaching of the Gospel and the intimate relation established between teacher and scholar is of the highest benefit to both, and experience proves that Sunday Schools are one of the most effective agencies of the Church.

6. If children have a "quiet Sunday," they only get into mischief.

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OUGHT CHRISTIANS TO ATTEND THE THEATRE?

YES

1. The dramatic instinct is radical in human nature, and, though Christians may improve the tone of acting by only going to the best plays, they cannot hope to uproot the instinct by not going at all.

2. The stage is not more immoral than other professions, but its immorality is better known.

3. The Bible itself is in many parts dramatic; *e.g.*, Job and the Song of Songs.

4. The authors of the drama are among the best in every literature.

5. Arguments cannot be drawn from times of dramatic degeneracy, and if they are advanced, then it must be admitted that arguments against the Church, drawn from times of Church degeneracy, are also valid.

NO

1. The effect of theatre-going is not recreative, but dissipating to the mind, the body, and the soul.

2. The well-known vices of actors and actresses show that the theatre only leads to ruin, and so ought to be avoided by all serious-minded people.

3. The stage gives an untrue view of life, falsely coloured, and highly exaggerated.

4. The theatre exists not to profit or instruct, but merely

to amuse, to stimulate and arouse; and the passion for excitement to which it panders tends to the degeneracy of the whole life.

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SHOULD THEOLOGICAL DIFFICULTIES BE FREELY DISCUSSED?

YES

1. There is an ever-recurring tendency for prevalent public opinion to tyrannize over all innovations, and the exponents of orthodoxy forget their own human fallibility in deed, though they plentifully acknowledge it in words.

2. Thus we see that nearly every idea that has enlightened the world has been resisted and all but done to death before it could gain a hearing; opinions now called orthodox have been gained in this way, and it is, therefore, quite unreasonable for those who hold opinions thus obtained to condemn fresh innovations. We see the fate that Socrates met, and that Christ met, and to refuse the free discussion of theological difficulties is to mete out to new truth the same condemnation.

3. Theological difficulties are not freely discussed at present, because every kind of social opposition meets the man who has any new ideas, so much so that he is tempted to say nothing about them, to the great loss of the world. The whole modern practice of confining preaching to those who hold certain views tends to discourage any free discussion, for views opposite to those of the preachers cannot be justly represented except by those who really believe in those views and explain them with the accent of conviction.

4. Human beings can make a safe approach to the

truth only after examining all sides of a question, and unless theological difficulties are freely discussed and shown from different view-points, there can be no real knowledge of the truth, but only prejudice and superstition.

5. When it is said that orthodox opinions are so useful to society that to have them publicly questioned would endanger morality and religion, it is forgotten that the utility of any given set of opinions is as disputable as the opinions themselves; *e.g.*, note the case of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, who thought it was his duty, with a view to the people's good, to persecute Christianity, —the same kind of mistake is made to-day. No truth can be destructive to the principles of morality and true religion. Even error should be heard, for it helps to define the truth.

NO

1. Innovations in the popular faith are by their very nature the most dangerous of all innovations, and it is well that they should be received with mistrust; the exponents of orthodoxy do not assert their own infallibility, but only the authority of the revelation given by God to man.

2. The revelation given in the Bible is final, and we have received no new revelation since; hence it is our duty not to set loose the "strife of tongues," but to urge the acceptance of this revelation.

3. Theological difficulties are at present freely enough discussed both in the press and in the pulpit, and even as things are, this leads to much irreverence and irreligion, and it is, therefore, well that the practice should be discouraged, that people should be taught just what is necessary for their salvation, and that highly technical matters should be left to reverent experts in theology.

4. "The Truth" is only to be found in the Bible, in the revelation given by Christ, and the ventilation of difficulties only leads to irresponsible private opinion being put in the place of this great Authority.

5. If any general freedom of discussion were encouraged there would be no end to the follies, fads, and absurdities, which would distract the public until they would be driven to take refuge in a general scepticism.

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ARE TRADES UNIONS ON THE WHOLE MISCHIEVOUS OR BENEFICIAL?

BENEFICIAL

1. The only way to rebut tyranny is to combine to put it down; so trades unionism is the only resource for the labourer, who naturally seeks just conditions of life.

2. The right of combination must be conceded to the men if this is to be a free country.

3. The workman's skill is the commodity which he has to sell, and he is right, according to the whole practice of commerce, in making the most of it.

4. Employers, especially when united in large companies, have no sense of responsibility for their employés, and hence the only resource of the workmen is to force them to understand this obligation.

5. Trades Unions are of great practical benefit to the men in assisting them to get work, to travel in search of work, and even to emigrate.

6. They have fully justified their existence by their success in so frequently getting the wages of the men raised.

7. They develop the capacity for self-government among the men, and create in them a strong feeling of self-respect.

8. The leaders get little more than their wages for their services, and suffer loss by being in bad odour with the employers.

9. Trades Unions call forth a spirit of mutual sympathy and brotherhood among their members.

10. Trades Unions mark a progress from the desire of using violent remedies to the desire of using legal and pacific remedies, which are the only effective ones.

11. Political economy is not an exact science, and though some of its exponents pronounce Trades Unions harmful, that is not an indication that they are so. Trades Unions are developing, and only in the long run can we tell whether their tendency is harmful or not.

12. Strike organization is not by any means the only work done by Trades Unions—they make provision against accident and sickness, and strengthen the feeling of the unity of labour all over the world.

MISCHIEVOUS

1. A man has the right to manage his business as he finds best, and when Trades Unions bring force to bear upon him to rebut what they call his tyranny, they are despotically seeking to interfere with his private rights.

2. The despotism of the Unions over the men is far worse than that of the masters, and the power of initiative is crushed out of the men.

3. Trades Unions intensify the antagonism between rich and poor, increase the difficulty of the social problem by rousing the hostility of the masters, and by trying to sell the labour of the men wholesale, do not get the best terms for it.

4. It is impossible to *force* employers to understand a moral obligation to their men, and the use of compulsion will only irritate them into ignoring it.

5. Any small benefits which the Unions confer are dearly bought by levies on the wages of the men.

6. They stand self-condemned, because their inevitable effect is seen to be the driving of trade from the country.

7. They encourage among the men a spirit of unrest and even of sedition, which is directly harmful to the trade of the country.

8. Trades Unions are often worked by unscrupulous agitators, whose minds are more occupied with their own personal interests than with the good of the workman.

9. Trades Unions reduce the skilled workman to the level of the unskilled, and really constitute a despotism of ignorance and inefficiency over intelligence and skill.

10. Trades Unions, by the constant resort to intimidation and even to violence, rouse the spirit of anarchy, and constitute a menace to the public peace.

11. The ratio of supply to demand is a natural one, and cannot be altered by arbitrary means.

12. Better provision against illness and accident is made by clubs which exist for that purpose alone, and whose funds are not liable to be exhausted by long, disastrous strikes.

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SHOULD WE ABOLISH TRIAL BY JURY?

NO

1. This is one of the oldest institutions we have, and is one of the glories of our national life. It proceeds upon the principle that every man has a right to be tried by his peers.

2. The system has been so wrought into our whole manner of thinking that it could not be changed without grave danger to justice.

3. The jury, being composed usually of business men of broad experience, is the best possible body to decide upon the guilt or innocence of the accused: the judge by his training is fitted to decide on matters of law; but if his functions were to be extended, much injustice would result from judicial prejudice.

4. Our system is found in experience to work very well; for when both sides of a case are fully laid before these juries, they almost invariably arrive at a decision which the general moral sense of the community would endorse.

5. In every trial there are two kinds of questions arise: questions of law and questions of fact. Our system provides for these in the best possible manner by ordaining that "questions of law are for the judge, questions of fact for the jury."

YES

1. Juries originally arose from a natural effort on the part of the people to prevent the tyranny of the despotic king; it was the means by which the people sought to take over the decision on questions of guilt and innocence into their own hands, but the law has become so complicated that now juries are in the hands of the legal experts, and consequently juries usually decide according to the judge's summing up.

2. The system is felt to be more and more inadequate. The best citizens evade going on the jury whenever they can, and it very often happens that a difficult question has to be settled by men who have not sufficient education to fully enter into the merits of the case.

3. Most men now would prefer to be tried altogether by a judge with a reputation for knowledge and impartiality to lose, than by a jury who would be more anxious to bring the trial to a conclusion as soon as possible than to arrive at a just decision.

4. Juries are far too susceptible to the appeals of counsel, and whether a man is brought in guilty or not usually depends to a large extent upon the eloquence of his counsel, with the natural result that high fees are given for good counsel, and hence justice, so-called, is far more easily obtained by the rich man than by the poor. There is, therefore, great need of reform taking the direction of free justice for all, and State lawyers to decide the cases.

5. Our jury system shows its weakness in the difficulty which is found in deciding what are questions of law and what are questions of fact. Counsel and judge are continually at issue as to whether a point ought to go to the jury or not.

6. The judge, counsel, prisoners, witnesses and spectators are all interested in the case, but the jury is not.

They have been dragged from their business, and set down to decide upon a complicated series of facts. Under these unfavourable circumstances it is a mere accident if justice is done.

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SHOULD VACCINATION BE ENFORCED BY LAW?

YES

1. In 1871 a Committee of the House of Commons met to consider the objections raised by anti-vaccinators, and, after going into the facts, reported that "There need be no apprehension that vaccination will injure health or communicate any disease."

2. The effect of vaccination in protecting us against small-pox has been very remarkable. Dr. Farr tells us that in the last century the deaths from small-pox amounted annually to 3,000 per 1,000,000 of the population. Since 1871, when Boards of Guardians were obliged by Act of Parliament to appoint vaccination officers, the deaths from small-pox have averaged only 156 per 1,000,000. The only reason that vaccination is not more successful still is because it is impossible to carry it out more thoroughly.

3. That this remarkable result is not due merely to sanitation is shown by the fact that other diseases have not decreased at anything like the same rate. Sir Lyon Playfair, in the House of Commons, on June 19th, 1883, stated this point lucidly: "If we compare the period of gratuitous vaccination with that of efficient compulsory vaccination, the Registrar-General tells us that, among children under five, the small-pox mortality has decreased by eighty per cent., while that from all other diseases has only decreased by six per cent." Isolation may avail for a few cases, but when there is anything in the nature of an epidemic isolation is plainly impossible.

4. In Germany small-pox has been practically stamped out by compulsory vaccination, but in Great Britain there were 150,000 unvaccinated persons in 1893 and nearly

250,000 in 1897. It is plain that, unless we enforce vaccination stringently, we are in serious danger of an epidemic.

5. The small-pox figures in London do not afford the anti-vaccinators a valid argument, because if even only five per cent. are not vaccinated, that still means that there are 190,000 persons who are fit subjects for an epidemic to seize upon.

6. Even the Medical Officers of Health, who are specially interested in sanitation, have confessed that the only means of controlling small-pox is by vaccination and re-vaccination. In presence of the Bill of 1898, the Incorporated Society of Medical Officers memorialised the Government on this point.

7. In 1880 a small-pox epidemic took place in San Francisco. "The general death-rate was 18·27 per 1,000; among the Chinese, who crowded together in their own quarter in squalor, it was 21·2. Vaccination was compulsory on the American population, but not upon the Chinese, and the result was that the Chinese quarter became a centre of infection for the rest of the town." The Medical Officer of Health thus sums up his report: "This case clearly shows (1) the effect of what may be called a smouldering fire of small-pox, in keeping up a source of infection, which may break out into renewed conflagration when materials exist for it; (2) the non-limitation of small-pox infection to any class in society; and (3) the protective power of efficient vaccination, as shown alike in the immunity of the previously vaccinated juvenile population, and in the speedy check put upon the epidemic spread of the disease among the elders."

8. The conscience clause in the Bill of 1898, which makes vaccination optional, is a yielding to the outcries of ignorant agitators, and has endangered the health of the community.

NO

1. Vaccination so far from preventing disease tends to produce it. The *British Medical Journal*, 1877, says: "In addition to the fact that people are ill after vaccination, it is important to remember that people die after the operation, if not from the disease itself, at least from its sequelæ, notably erysipelas." There is grave danger of vaccination inoculating a patient with a disease which may lie dormant in his system for years before breaking out.

2. Vaccination has little effect in warding off small-pox. When Dr. Jenner had been rewarded by Parliament, and the people were so sanguine that they talked of devoting the London Small-pox Hospital to some other use, a fresh epidemic of small-pox burst out (1804) which filled the hospital with patients. "In the London hospitals of the Asylums Board more than 53,000 small-pox patients have been treated (1891), and of these no fewer than 41,000 were medically recorded as vaccinated. In the Orphan Homes at Bristol, in the 1871 epidemic, 293 children took the disease, and they had all been vaccinated. Herr Kolb, of Munich, says that in Bavaria, in 1871, out of 30,742 cases of small-pox, 29,429 were vaccinated persons."

3. The undoubted decrease of small-pox is due solely to sanitation.

4. Compulsory vaccination is a piece of severe class legislation, for all the force of such an Act bears upon the poor. The rich easily escape because they are not betrayed, and if they are, they can readily afford the fine. Poor people who conscientiously resist such a law are subject to repeated summonses, and persecuted into compliance.

5. Since Dr. Jenner's time the medical profession has shifted its ground on the vaccination question. At first they said no vaccinated person could take small-pox; now they admit that the effect of vaccination wears off in time.

They are not at all agreed as to the number of marks necessary for full protection.

6. The statistics are largely adjusted to suit the vaccinators. Dr. Vacher states in his *Notes on the Small-pox Epidemic at Birkenhead* that only those patients were entered as vaccinated who displayed undoubted cicatrices, and goes on to say that "the mere assertion of the patients or their friends that they were vaccinated counted for nothing, as about 80 per cent. of the patients in the third column ("unknown") were reported as having been vaccinated."

7. The way this subject is agitated is an evidence of how little medical men are convinced in their own minds of their doctrine of vaccination; they are so committed to it, however, that it is impossible for them to abandon their ground.

8. Vaccination is at best a very fallible and uncertain remedy, and it carries with it danger of worse diseases: on the other hand, small-pox manifestly yields to sanitation. Legal compulsion only makes "martyrs," and increases the agitation against vaccination; the conscience clause, therefore, in the Bill of 1898 is thoroughly statesmanlike.

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SHOULD WE PROHIBIT VIVISECTION?

YES

1. Science has fully established the close relationship existing between man and the lower animals. We see them now as rudimentary editions of ourselves, and consequently the more enlightened we are, the more horror ought we to feel at the practice of vivisection.

2. When men of science, who have taught us the relationship between ourselves and the other animals, try to justify vivisection, they are really acting upon the abominable doctrine that the weak have no claims upon the strong.

3. If this pernicious doctrine be once admitted, where are we going to stop? If it is right to experiment upon dogs, chimpanzees, and other intelligent and affectionate animals, why not experiment upon idiots, criminals, savages, women, children, and unsuccessful men?

4. In view of the excellent charts, diagrams, and the like now available, it is not necessary that students should witness cruel experiments in order to understand what they are taught.

5. The barbarities of the chase or of the shambles cannot excuse the barbarities of the Physiological Laboratory. The sportsman often inflicts his cruelties thoughtlessly from a weak desire to imitate other men, or from a still feebler desire to be considered a sportsman; but the scientist knows the pain he is inflicting, and acts with his eyes wide open. As far as the shambles are concerned, to kill animals ex-

peditiously is manifestly a very different thing from torturing them.

6. To contend that vivisectors are actuated by motives of humanity is mere moonshine, for a man cannot follow this revolting study without becoming callous to suffering, both animal and human.

7. The mind that seeks to justify the infliction of pain upon animals on the score of the benefit to the race of men is simply immoral. The end cannot justify the means, and men have no right to inflict suffering of this agonizing kind for any object.

NO

1. It must be acknowledged that science has done more to alleviate human suffering than any other agency in the world, and science has now reached the stage at which vivisection becomes necessary in order that the secrets of life may be discovered. The absolute necessity of vivisection is its defence.

2. Every treatment of an unknown disease is experimental, whether in men or in animals, and it is a very fine ethical point whether, if a man is justified in experimenting for cure upon his fellow-men (as all doctors must do), he is not also justified in experimenting upon animals to try and discover the cause of the disease and the cure. To talk as if eminent and humane medical men have no feeling for the sufferings of animals is merely hysterical.

3. Experimentation is carried out for a definite purpose and not for its own sake, and a large part of the really useful vivisection can be conducted painlessly.

4. It is an axiom of all modern teaching that the student, as far as possible, ought to see for himself what he is told. This can, of course, be pushed to an extreme, but great

moderation is exercised in this respect in our schools of science, and only what is considered to be necessary to the proper understanding of the subject in hand is shown.

5. The outcry against vivisection is due to an unreasonable, though popular, moral prejudice, for we find that though rat-catching, deer-stalking, battue-shooting, and other forms of useless cruelty are tolerated, yet vivisection is condemned, although it seldom inflicts half the pain and terror, and accomplishes so much for the good both of men and animals.

6. To call in question the motives of those who practise vivisection is unfair, and becomes absurd when we think of some of the eminent and humane men of science accused.

7. Vivisection is justified in its results, which have been the occasion of the removal of an immense amount of pain and disease from the world.

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OUGHT CHRISTIANS TO BE SOLDIERS?

NO

1. Christ is the revelation of the Father, and He taught the brotherhood of men. Christianity is a religion of amity, of love; clearly, then, war is opposed to the spirit of Christianity, the very antithesis of the teaching of Christ.

2. Christ came to save men, body and soul, while the genius of war is destruction and death. War arises from the antagonisms of rival kingdoms; but the kingdom of God, by uniting all men, would make war forever impossible.

3. Emerson says, "that the power of love as a basis of states has never been tried." If it were tried, Christianity would become a fact in the world and not merely an ideal, with the inevitable result that all war would cease.

4. It is said that the teaching of Christ contains no express condemnation of war as a factor in the development of the race; but it is only necessary to reply to this sort of reasoning that "polygamy," "slavery," "capital punishment," and other countless evil practices have been defended on the same ground of the silence of Scripture. Christ must have been under great temptation at various crises in His career to resort to arms, and He had only to say the word, and the people would have made Him King and followed Him to battle against the Romans; but He always refused, and pointed out most clearly that the kingdom He came to found was essentially a peaceful one, and could not condescend to use war.

5. The power of Christianity was most vividly shown in the reign of Nero, when the Christians submitted themselves to the lions; and whenever men have taken the sword, whether to persecute or to fight, then have they proved false to the religion of Christ.

6. The noble uses of war are advanced in its favour—the courage, devotion to duty and self-sacrifice to which it gives rise. These are not denied, but it is denied that war is the only means of developing these virtues, or even the best means. "Is it so difficult to kill with musket and sword, and is overcoming evil with good so easy and ignoble that we must needs turn the world into a battle-field?"

7. It is claimed that war has set wrongs right, has expelled slavery from the Southern States, has crushed despotisms, established liberty, and quickened progress; but this only shows that it is not an unmixed evil. If against these good results of some wars we set the evils of all wars,—the hatred, the envy and revenge, the maiming and butchering, the hot-blooded outrages, the sorrow, bereavement, and pain,—we see that war is self-condemned, and when brought face to face with Christ's teaching cannot be defended.

8. When it is contended that war is necessary, it is only needful to remember that nearly every injustice and inhumanity that has existed in the world has been defended on this ground: reformers have been called visionaries, their reforms impractical, and the evil they wished to reform necessary. As an instance of this, we have only to remember how it was said that if the Factory Acts were passed the commerce of the country would be ruined—an argument which proved to be an illogicality of selfishness. War is no more necessary than tyranny, and the Christian spirit can have no dealings with organized butchery.

YES

1. The final effect of the spirit of Christianity must be the abolition of war, but that does not by any means prove that Christianity forbids war.

2. When Christ uttered the parable of the leaven, He showed the vital principle on which He relied for the salvation of the world. The change in the world was to be gradual, and evolved with that steadiness which could alone make it permanent. It is clear, then, that Christ regarded the general condemnation of war as at that stage of progress premature, and we have no right to say that He would condemn war even yet.

3. Sayings like this of Emerson's are merely laments that the ideal has not yet been reached. When the ideal is reached, of course war will be out of the question; but it would require omniscience to say that war does not, under the present imperfect conditions, answer a well-defined purpose in the higher evolution of man, and may not even be necessary as a goad towards the attainment of the ideal.

4. The teaching of Christ contains no express condemnation of war. He must have been familiar with war and its horrors, and it is very significant that He contents Himself with enunciating the great principle of love to God and neighbour, and yet refrains from a more specific condemnation of war. He must have had some deep purpose in this, some special knowledge of the grim mission of war.

5. If all Christians had adopted the same line of conduct as those under Nero, and had refused to take the sword, and submitted, the result would have been that liberty, progress and civilization would have been held back and even made impossible. Hampden and Cromwell would not have fought, the power of Spain and the Pope would not have been broken, and we should have had no Waterloo. We

cannot suppose that the deeds of which we as a nation are most proud are anti-Christian, or that the mighty deeds of our greatest men were pagan.

6. If war is looked at in detail, it is murder; but when looked at in its larger aspects it is sacrifice. The effects of war have often been to purify a nation. The War of Independence so invigorated the United States, so stirred within them the spirit of manly independence, that in an incredibly short space of time they took their place among the great powers of the world. When there are so many elements of the highest moral value in war, we cannot say that it is to be entirely condemned in the present state of the race, even on Christian principles.

7. The great moral ideals which underlie a soldier's life are sacrifice and duty, and these must produce nobility of character. It is the story of heroic deeds that stirs the blood of men and makes them capable of sacrifice; and when war calls forth these great qualities, it cannot be said to be entirely at variance with Christianity.

8. It is the creed of narrow materialism and the practice of luxury which make men unwilling for war now-a-days. Christianity shows us that life must be sacrificed in order that it may be gained—that death is not the chief evil, or, indeed, an evil at all. It is materialism that revolts from death and refuses to bear pain; but Christianity recognises that men must be ready to face death in some causes, and must be prepared to drink the cup of pain to the very dregs for the sake of righteousness and truth.

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SHOULD UNFERMENTED WINE BE USED AT THE COMMUNION TABLE?

YES

1. It is not essential to the service that fermented wine should be used, for there is every reason to believe that Christ selected wine because it was the beverage most easily accessible in the circumstances.

2. It is not a necessary quality of wine that it should be fermented; indeed, unfermented wine is drunk extensively in countries where wine is grown. Fermenting is not even necessary to the preservation of wines, for there are other means which preserve them as well.

3. The beverage originally used was most probably unfermented, because at the Passover all fermented liquor, as well as leavened bread, was put away. It has been said of the Jews of that time that "fermentation is to them always a symbol of corruption, as in nature and science; it is in itself decay, rottenness."

4. If fermented wine is used at the Communion, Christians cannot properly condemn strong drink, because they cannot urge others to give up what is sanctified by use at this holy season.

5. In any Christian assembly of any size there is pretty sure to be one at least who has a strong tendency to fall away through strong drink, and his only chance is to remain an absolute teetotaller; but when he comes to the Communion table, he is forced to drink fermented wine, and all his old temptations return upon him with redoubled force.

It is not Christian thus to throw temptation in the way of one who may be specially weak.

NO

1. "Unfermented wine is a non-existent liquid." If we consider the customs of the ancient world and the frequency with which drunkenness is referred to, we see that the wine used was fermented, and there is no evidence to show that the ancients were aware of any other kind.

2. When Christ speaks of the "fruit of the vine," it is plain that He is referring to the ordinary fermented wine. In all countries and languages there are such euphemisms for wine, *e.g.*, "Kirschwasser," "Eau-de-vie," "Liebfrauenmilch," and the like.

3. Wine was not prescribed in the original institution of the Passover, and it was only after the Jews were settled in Palestine that the wine was introduced as a natural element of gladness in a feast which commemorated a deliverance. The prohibition against leaven cannot thus be made to apply to wine as well as to bread.

4. "Even assuming that the paschal wine was an unfermented liquor, and that such wine was used on the occasion of that first observance, during the days of unleavened bread (both of which assumptions are negatived by the facts already adduced), we are nevertheless under no more obligation to use unfermented wine in the Supper than we are to employ only unfermented bread. So that those who plead for the use of the former while they reject the latter, may claim the liberty of their Christian freedom to do in this matter as they think expedient; but they can find no precedent, nor example, nor authority in Scripture for their arbitrary selection or preference."

5. To protest against the use of wine at the Communion is to carry temperance principles to a hurtful extreme.

There are few questions which stir up dissensions and heart-burnings in Churches to the same extent as this, and it is not wise or Christian to rouse all this contention to avoid a risk which is plainly remote and improbable. Temperance faddists do not understand that many Christians see a fitness and propriety in the use of wine at the Communion which is altogether lacking in the poor temperance substitutes.

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OUGHT WE TO LET WOMEN WORK FOR THEIR OWN LIVING?

NO

1. The rate of wages is largely regulated by the necessities of the wage-earners, and when women become wage-earners, their necessities being less than those of men—for they do not as a rule have to support a family—their wages are less. This involves a large class of women wage-earners receiving a bare subsistence, many of them having to obtain help from friends.

2. The natural tendency of this state of things is that the lower paid women's labour tends to supplant in many cases the higher paid men's labour, with the result that the whole social problem is made more difficult and the ranks of the unemployed are swelled.

3. The total income of families is not increased by women entering the field of competition, and yet the family is often broken up thereby, with the result that family life among the poor has in many cases ceased to exist.

4. Many of the gravest social evils, such as intemperance and vice, can be more or less directly traced to this destruction of family life following upon women entering the field of competition.

5. When women resolve to compete with men, the condition of society becomes at once changed: womanly reserve is to a considerable extent broken down, looseness of manners follows as a matter of course, and in the end the morals of the community must suffer.

6. Women are not physically fitted for the stern struggle of the world, and if women are allowed to work for their

living, the effect upon their bodily health cannot but be disastrous.

7. The worst evils of this physical deterioration must be visited upon their children.

8. It would be a good solution of the difficulty if all women who must work for their living were supported at the public expense.

YES

1. The first entry of women into the field of competition must necessarily have a depressing effect upon wages; but as time passes women are gradually winning more recognition, are becoming more skilled, and are consequently earning higher wages.

2. Every year women are competing with men upon more equal terms, and the result is the development of the independence and character of both.

3. It is absolutely necessary for many women to enter industry in order to eke out the wages of their husbands and brothers, and it is only through this action on the part of women that many families are able to hold together

4. Many thinkers have come to the conclusion that the only solution of the difficulty of the increase of competition brought on by women earning wages is some form of collective industry, and they think that the present crisis is useful because it draws attention forcibly to the need of some such reform.

5. Though a great part of the old courtesy and formality must depart when women enter into competition with men, yet this is only a passing phase, and women in the end will find themselves in a better and more reasonable position. They lose an insincere worship, but they will gain freedom.

6. The work of life has just as good an effect physically

upon women as it has upon men, and idleness is just as bad for both.

7. The self-reliant spirit that women who work for their living gain, they hand on to their children.

8. This scheme, if carried out, would prove an excessive burden upon taxpayers, because many who could well afford to support their daughters would refuse to do so if there were any chance of getting the public to do it for them.

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SYNDICALISM

FOR

1. The present capitalist system is aimed at the exploitation of labour. Although conditions may improve from time to time, this is not because of the present system but in spite of it. It is necessary to destroy the system that labour may control the products of labour.

2. Political action has been tried and found wanting. Parliament was founded by the middle classes in their own interest, and it is their interest to exploit the workers. Even working-class representatives are untrustworthy, as they are inevitably drawn into the vortex of log rolling and dishonesty which is political life. If parliament, after endless delay, does finally pass a measure to improve the conditions of labour, capitalism will always contrive by evasion, judicial decisions, or some such means to nullify its effect.

3. There remains only the syndicalist alternative of "direct action." By the general strike society can be paralysed and compelled to accept the just terms which labour will dictate.

4. Violence is not a part of the syndicalist programme. "Sabotage" in its subtler sense is perfectly justifiable. "*A mauvaise paie, mauvais travail.*"

5. Syndicalism, it is true, may never succeed in bringing about the millennium. But it is none the less useful, since it provides the workers with an ideal, without which men sink into indifference, and it carries on a ceaseless campaign which brings the attainment of that ideal nearer. The Syndicalist acts, the politician talks.

AGAINST

1. The interests of capital and labour are not opposed, but identical. Classes are not antagonistic, but inter dependent. Revolution is in itself harmful. The loss to production entailed thereby sets back the march of progress out of all proportion to the benefits gained.

2. It is admitted that industrial organisation and pressure is necessary to social progress; but it must be combined with political action. Political industrialism is the *via media* of safety. The danger of unfair interpretation of acts of parliament is thus met. Syndicalism only succeeds in driving moderate men to the party of reaction, since at all costs society must defend itself.

3. See strikes. The general strike is a delusion. Its impracticability has been demonstrated notably in Sweden. Time fights against the general strike, since the workers themselves are the first to feel the pinch.

4. Violence, even if not at first intended, is bound to ensue, for starving men are driven to it. Damage to machinery, deliberate bad work, and such forms of sabotage are injurious to the workers as much as to employers, and are besides degrading to the national character.

5. "Their old men shall see visions and their young men shall dream dreams." Syndicalism is indeed an ideal. It is a myth which deludes the ignorant and prevents them from pursuing the true path of progress, that of increased production for the benefit of all

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SHOULD MANHOOD SUFFRAGE BE ADOPTED?

YES

1. Any other system is undemocratic. The electoral privilege should be open to all persons of full age who desire it.

2. It is the only way to abolish plural voting which is undemocratic, since the proper basis of the franchise should be personality and not property.

3. If government is by representation, and that representation is limited, then one part of the people is governed by the other part, whereas the whole people should be governed by the whole people.

4. There is nothing to fear in an extension of the franchise. Larger numbers were added to the electorate by the first reform bill than this reform would involve, and further previous reform bills have enfranchised new classes, whereas this would only add to the numbers of already enfranchised classes. The present distinctions are not really upon the ground of fitness. Some of the worst types in the community have the vote, while some of the best men are often excluded.

5. The anomalies of the present system. E.g., the qualifying time for an owner is nine months, while that for an occupier is from eighteen to twenty-nine. A lodger, by changing his rooms, loses his vote. A move across the street, if to a different division, means disenfranchisement.

6. The costliness of the present system. The approximate cost of merely keeping the registers is £850,000 per

annum, which works out at about 2*s.* 3*d.* per vote registered.

7. The state now undertakes greater responsibilities than in the past. Therefore every element in the community should be consulted.

NO

1. The franchise is already too wide. Even a great Liberal like J. S. Mill insisted upon the necessity for educational qualifications and for the payment of direct taxation as preliminaries to the right to vote.

2. Plural voting is justifiable on the ground that those who have an interest in different constituencies should be represented in all. The greater the stake in the country the greater the representation should be. Moreover, if it were right to abolish plural voting, this could be done by the holding of all elections on one day.

3. It would be the enfranchisement of the scum.

4. A restricted franchise provides a more stable government, because the electorate is less prone to listen to demagogues and to be carried from one extreme to the other.

5 and 6. These evils can be remedied by a carefully-drawn measure of electoral reform and do not necessitate such a sweeping change as that proposed.

7. It is true that the state is encroaching more and more upon the rights of the individual, but this is an evil and so far from being encouraged should be put a stop to.

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IS THE WORLD GROWING BETTER?

YES

1. That the watchword of this age is humanity is exemplified in many different ways:—

(*a*) Far greater thought is now given to the care of the weak and the old. Hospitals and homes have increased enormously, their administration has improved, and the public is liberal in their support. There is even a steady agitation for old-age pensions.

(*b*) Children are now protected by Act of Parliament and public opinion in a way that would have been inconceivable a century ago. The age of labour is being raised, and the cruelty of parents or employers is now hampered by effective legislation.

(*c*) The status of women is higher; their rights with respect to their children and their property are more fully recognised, and their lot is marked by greater freedom and less brutality than formerly.

(*d*) The efforts on behalf of the poorer classes were never so many nor so far-reaching. All sects and all ranks join in the endeavour to root out the miseries of poverty.

(*e*) Steady progress is being made in stamping out the love of war and the curses of war by the establishment of right relations between the nations.

(*f*) The law is not now the brutal instrument it once was. The great principle that punishments are preventive and reformatory is now recognised, and much is done to prevent crime and to rescue the criminal

2. Never was the interest in religion more practical and enthusiastic than it is to-day. This is proved (*a*) by the humanitarian efforts mentioned above; (*b*) by an increase of charity and tolerance; and (*c*) by the zeal in missionary work among other peoples less enlightened —a field which is continually enlarging.

3. The world is a more enlightened place, and this enlightenment is spreading with an ever-increasing rapidity.

(*a*) Superstition is dying out, and with it the cruelty and the narrowness always attendant upon it.

(*b*) The progress of science has done wonders to alleviate pain, to cure disease, and to enable men to live healthier and therefore more righteous lives.

(*c*) Education is now within the reach of all, and the civilizing effects of this are already visible.

(*d*) The progress of invention has made the world a more comfortable place. There are so many labour-saving machines that life is rendered less toilsome than formerly.

4. The world is more wide awake, more industrious, more exacting.

(*a*) The power of despotism is dying out everywhere.

(*b*) The workers are demanding an adequate share of the fruit of their labour.

(*c*) It has become a disgrace to be an idle drone.

(*d*) Class distinctions are being broken down, and the time is presumably nearer when "Man to man the world o'er shall brithers be for a' that."

NO

1. That there is so much philanthropic work going on now only means that our social system is in such a rotten

condition that only by these efforts can disaster be staved off. Even the efforts that are made are inadequate.

(*a*) Take, for example, the treatment of old age in a rich country like England. It is too often possible for neglect and starvation to be the reward of industrious and honest lives. The recipient of relief is branded in the eyes of the more fortunate.

(*b*) If modern life has secured some immunities for children, it has arranged for them cruelties of its own. Trafficking in children's lives and in their labour is a reality in all great cities, and the feeble efforts of legislation hardly touch this evil.

(*c*) Many of the laws affecting women, and through them the heart of society, are still as brutal as ever. Modern life presses with peculiar hardness upon women. The greater freedom allowed them is not an unmixed blessing. The overtaxing of their strength will probably result in the deterioration of the race, and their entering the lists with men has caused serious complications in the labour world, making the struggle for bare existence almost unendurable.

(*d*) The efforts on behalf of the poor are unintelligent and misdirected. They are not co-operative. They both overlap and fall short. They help to increase rather than to diminish poverty; so much so that an alarming proportion of the poor are already hopelessly pauperised.

(*e*) The old virtues that flourished in warlike times are dying out, yet the cause of peace does not advance. Petty wars for selfish ends are constantly being waged, mostly against inferior races, and Europe to-day is armed to the teeth. The nations use their great power to frustrate each other's grasp-

ing selfishness, and not for the ends of humanity and justice.

2. Religion as a living force is weak. Preaching is rapidly losing its influence, Church membership is becoming a mere form, and Church services are in many cases only respectable hypocrisy. An increasing number of the best men in the country will have nothing to do with the Churches. The efforts at the union of the Churches evaporate in exhaustless talk, and missionary enterprise is very often quite unintelligent and futile.

3. Modern progress and enlightenment, so called, are full of conceit and ignorance of earlier efforts. Increase of knowledge has only meant increase of sorrow, and the burden of the world's pain grows every year.

(*a*) If some old superstitions have died out, other cruel ones have grown up: the sanctity of competition, for instance.

(*b*) Prolonging human life is often a doubtful gain. As modern life has created many new dangers and disasters, the effect of scientific achievements is, so to speak, cancelled.

(*c*) Education is groping in the dark. Children are not trained for life; and, indeed, to train them for this blinding whirl called modern life would be impossible. The sects have made education their chosen battle-field, and the present state of education in England would be comic if it were not so sad.

(*d*) Kinematographs and wireless telegraphy are not likely to bring about the salvation of the world, and are a poor compensation for the healthy outdoor lives which a large proportion of our forefathers led.

4. The world is more restless; but it is the restlessness

of fever. Beneath all its activity and gaiety the world carries a weary heart.

(*a*) We are only exchanging the rule of tyrants for the rule of mobs; and as tyrants are sometimes enlightened, and mobs never are, the change is for the worse.

(*b*) The present discontents are not Divine, but a proof that the times are out of joint.

(*c*) A contemplative life is becoming impossible, and yet the burdens and the rewards of labour are very unequally distributed.

(*d*) Class strife is becoming more ruinous and more inhuman.

(*e*) Modern civilization has created new crimes, yet it has not scientifically attempted the cure of crime. Our prison system is based upon a wrong principle, being punitive and not reformative; and such is the general indifference on the subject that rational reform is almost out of the question, and abuses prevail unchecked.

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LOCAL VETO

FOR

1. Drunkenness is admitted to be our chief national curse, and calls for stringent measures to mitigate its ravages. Inasmuch as it notoriously increases the rates as well as injures the morals of every district in England, the inhabitants in each district ought to be allowed to protect themselves, by having power to prohibit or limit the common sale of intoxicating liquors.

2. For this purpose nothing will be effective, except a direct popular vote on the question. If town and county councils were to control the liquor traffic, all local elections would become hopelessly complicated and inflamed by this issue, to the prejudice and confusion of every other local interest. Moreover on such a vital matter the popular will should express itself directly and distinctly.

3. Existing councils, especially in counties, cover wide areas and embrace great diversities of population. Each locality should have the power to decide for itself on this important point, by giving a direct popular vote on the question of "license," "no license," or "number of licenses."

4. A special *referendum* vote is already provided for in regard to free libraries, etc., and casts no reflection on local representative bodies.

5. The "tyranny" of a majority which was ascertained in this manner would be far less oppressive than the tyranny of a bench of irremovable magistrates, or even of an elected council. For in the case of local veto it is not proposed that prohibition be carried out except by the will

of a considerable majority (many advocate two-thirds) of those who vote. At present, an individual landowner can, and in not a few cases does, exercise unrestricted power of prohibition over extensive estates, with beneficent results.

6. In many British colonies, and in the United States, the ratepayers already possess practical power to prohibit the sale of intoxicants, and where they have exercised this power—e.g. in the State of Maine, U.S.A.—the socia. improvement has been conspicuous.

AGAINST

1. It is distinctly unjust for a majority of citizens to have power to deprive a minority of their right to purchase and use alcoholic liquor, on the ground that some men abuse this liberty.

2. "I had rather see England free than England sober." —Archbishop Magee.

3. It is inconsistent to forbid the public sale of an article, while the State permits it to be manufactured, imported, owned, and consumed by individuals.

4. It is illogical for the State to allow a trade to be prohibited in one parish and to be licensed in the rest, by the chance vote of local ratepayers. The liquor traffic is a national, not a parochial question.

5. Those districts where restrictions are most needed would certainly be least likely to vote for them. If, however, the liquor trade were controlled by representative bodies extending over considerable areas, far better results would be secured.

6. For the popular will to act by mass votes, really contradicts and subverts the idea of representative government.

7. If alcohol were fobidden in one district and tolerated in a district adjacent, the object of Local Veto would be defeated, while the latter district would be seriously injured.

8. Experience in other countries, including the State of Maine, proves that prohibitive laws are extensively evaded and often inoperative. They lead to bogus clubs (which are far harder to control than public-houses) and to the illicit sale and consumption of liquor.

9. If the ratepayers in a parish may forbid any trade or calling which they dislike, while it remains lawful elsewhere, why should they not have the right to suppress unpopular places of religious or political resort? To concede a local veto on alcohol would eventually injure the cause of civil and religious liberty.

10. Such a veto must necessarily be subject to periodical revision, and this would breed ceaseless agitation and strife. A hasty vote would be followed by violent reaction, and real temperance reform would be further off than ever.

11. The injustice of local veto would inflict special hardship on working men. The public-house is often their only club, and they cannot afford to stock their own cellars.

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POPULAR CONTROL OF STATE-SUPPORTED SCHOOLS

Introductory Note

The Education Acts of 1902 and 1903 abolished School Boards throughout England and Wales and established as Education Authorities (*a*) the County Council, in Counties and in London; (*b*) the Borough Council, in County Boroughs and Municipal Boroughs of over 10,000 inhabitants; (*c*) the District Council, in Urban Districts of over 20,000. Each Education Authority forms an Education Committee, the major part of which consists of its own members, and the minor part of other suitable persons. The Education Authority must maintain in efficiency all public elementary schools within its area. It receives the whole of the educational grant voted from the taxes for that purpose; the balance of the cost of the schools comes out of the rates.

When the new Acts were passed, there were about 5,857 Board Schools, with 2,721,000 pupils; 11,731 Church of England schools, with 2,297,000 pupils; 1,055 Roman Catholic schools, with 325,000 pupils; 458 Wesleyan schools, with 157,000 pupils; and 1,052 British and other schools, with 263,000 pupils.

For each "provided" (i.e. Board) school, the whole body of managers is appointed by the Education Authority.

For each "non-provided" (i.e. Voluntary) school two managers are appointed by the Education Authority, and four "foundation" managers under the provisions of the trust deed of the school. In a non-provided school, the managers themselves are bound to make such alterations

and improvements in the school-house as may be required, and to keep the fabric in good repair (except as regards wear and tear from its use for education—this being defrayed by the Education Authority). The managers must carry out the directions of the Education Authority as to the secular instruction given in the school and the number and qualifications of the teachers. But the managers have the right to appoint or dismiss teachers, subject to the consent of the Education Authority.

These provisions for the management of non-provided schools maintained out of the rates and taxes have given emphasis to the demand that all such schools shall be under popular control.

IN SUPPORT OF THIS PROPOSAL IT IS URGED:—

1. So long as the promoters of Voluntary schools defrayed by subscriptions a considerable part of the cost of their maintenance, they had some claim to their management. Now that this cost is entirely borne by the State, the representatives of the ratepayers ought in common justice, and by the whole tradition of English law, to have effective control.

2. In the great majority of cases a Voluntary school is in the hands of the local Anglican clergyman, who now nominates two-thirds of the managers, while the remaining third, appointed by the Education Authority, are often Anglicans also. In over 8,000 parishes no other elementary school exists except this, which the State maintains and the incumbent thus dominates in the interests of his own communion.

3. It is a bitter hardship to a Noncomformist that he is forced to pay rates to support a school of whose religious teaching and atmosphere he strongly disapproves, and in whose control he has no real voice whatever—especially

when his own children are compelled to attend this school, as is the case in thousands of parishes. The "conscience clause" is practically inoperative.

4. The religious cleavage between Anglicans and Free Churchmen is growing steadily deeper. The English clergy become more and more intolerant and hostile towards Nonconformists. They look upon the Voluntary schools as appendages of their own Church, and in many cases use them as a powerful proselytizing agency.

5. In these 11,731 schools under clerical Anglican management, practically no Nonconformists will be appointed as teachers. These indeed are often chosen for their parochial rather than educational qualifications. The present law explicitly shuts out Nonconformists from the 16,400 head-teacherships in the Anglican schools.

6. Popular control brings greater educational efficiency. The notorious superiority of the Board school to the Voluntary school was largely due to the lack of a proper managing body in the latter.

7. Popular control means that a distinct majority of the managers (who appoint and dismiss the teachers) shall be appointed by the Education Authority. But this need in no way hinder an arrangement under which a school would receive distinctive denominational teaching regularly from a responsible voluntary teacher. If "non-provided" schools became "provided" schools, the school-buildings must in justice be hired, or bought, by the Education Authority from the trustees to whom they belong.

THE PROPOSED CHANGE IS RESISTED ON THE FOLLOWING GROUNDS:—

1. Considering the new Act as a whole, we find that the really dominant body in each area is the popularly-chosen Education Authority, which has the power of the purse and

controls the whole expenditure by the managers in all schools alike. It absolutely determines all questions as to secular education, decides the number and salary of all teachers, can veto any teacher's appointment, or can dismiss him, or veto his dismissal, on educational grounds. It can also insist on all needful structural alterations and improvements in non-provided schools.

2. The two representative managers, which have the Education Authority behind them, possess a very powerful voice in the management. While even of the four foundation managers, a majority will always be laymen. "Clerical domination" is a mere bugbear.

3. While the Anglican Church remains the established religion of England, the clergy hold a special responsibility for the faith of their parishioners and have a special claim to take the lead in religious education.

4. The whole *raison d'être* of a Voluntary school resides in its control by those who first built and maintained it for a definite religious object. The school would cease to be denominational, if the denominational element had not a controlling voice in appointing and dismissing the teachers. Rather than give up this, most Voluntary schools would close their doors—in which case new schools would have to be built by the Education Authorities at a cost of many millions sterling.

5. The grievance of the Nonconformist parent is imaginary. He and his children are amply protected by the "conscience clause."

6. If it be a hardship for a Nonconformist to help to maintain denominational schools from whose religious teaching he dissents, it is at least an equal grievance for a denominationalist to help to maintain a "provided" school in which (under the Cowper-Temple clause) no distinctive denominational teaching whatever may be given.

7. Voluntary schools are the property of the different Churches which have built them at a cost of some £20,000,000, besides maintaining them for generations. As they still provide this part of the expense of the schools, they have the right to a special voice in the management.

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IS PASSIVE RESISTANCE JUSTIFIABLE?

NO

1. It is one of the first axioms of Democracy that a minority of voters must obey laws enacted by the majority, however much they may dislike those laws. Their duty as loyal citizens is clear and imperative. If each man is to obey only what laws he likes, and may select what taxes he choses to pay, we substitute sheer anarchy for social order. Action of this kind is treason against the Democratic ideal.

2. Christian men are doubly bound to submit patiently to laws decreed by the State—even though they may consider such laws unjust in essence and harsh in administration. To resist the State is to go against both the letter and the spirit of the New Testament.

3. Passive resistance as practised by its leaders does not cost very much. This cheap martyrdom with its calculated self-advertisement fails to impress the British public as particularly heroic. In the eyes of sensible men it appears theatrical and grotesque. Some few resisters have even made over their furniture, etc., to their wives, in order that they themselves may be committed to prison for a few days on account of technically possessing nothing on which distraint for rates can be levied. Sympathy is repelled rather than attracted by such elaborate insincerity.

4. Those who object to the new Education Act have their proper and constitutional remedy. They must return a majority of representatives to the House of Commons who will alter it to suit their views.

5. What can be more hopelessly illogical than the passive

resister's conscience? It forbids him to pay rates in aid of denominational schools, when for years he has gone on quietly paying taxes for the self-same purpose.

6. It is a most dangerous example when men—especially if they hold prominent public or ecclesiastical positions—combine to withhold a rate that is lawfully levied. Other men will plead "conscience" and attempt to escape payment, just because they dislike parting with their money. Nothing wounds the Commonwealth so sorely as a deliberate defiance of the law, which tends to bring all law into general contempt.

7. Now that the Education Act is the law of the land, we are bound to make the best of it, and at any rate to give it an honest trial and to see how it works.

8. Passive Resistance is really a painful outburst of anti-ecclesiastical passion, which prevents a certain small section of Nonconformists from seeing and reasoning except along one line. Passive Resisters have lost all sense of proportion. They forget that there must always be some amount of "give and take" between different Christian communions. Before long this irrational excitement will cool down and die away.

YES

1. All moral teachers recognise that there are cases where passive resistance becomes a duty. "There is a higher law than that of the earthly government; and if they conflict, we must obey God rather than men. This disobedience to man will probably involve suffering; but it is to a great extent by such disobedience that moral and spiritual progress has been made, and from the days of Antigone onwards martyrs for conscience's sake have won the world's sympathy and admiration." (*The Guardian*, June 10, 1903.)

2. The Education Act of 1902 was passed in the teeth of the solemn, passionate and unanimous protests of the Free Churchmen—who make up half the religious community—of England and Wales. It was passed by a majority of a House of Commons elected on an entirely different issue. In October 1900 Mr Chamberlain assured the Staffordshire miners that they could vote Unionist without hurt to their Liberalism on domestic questions, since the sole issue at that General Election concerned the South African war.

3. This Act inflicts a great and grievous wrong on the consciences of Nonconformists. It compels them to pay a new rate in order to maintain in thousands of schools religious teaching which denies and outrages their most sacred convictions—teaching against which their whole existence as Nonconformists is a protest. It forces them in thousands of parishes to send their children to schools pervaded by a sectarian tone and atmosphere, where in countless cases the children will be infected with priestly ideas and made to feel that their own parents are heretics and schismatics. In the words of Sir George Kekewich, till lately the chief of the Education Department, "It is almost incredible that a law should be passed in this land of boasted freedom, which compels the parent to pay for the proselytising of his own child—for that is what it comes to."

4. The long struggle to abolish Church rates, which began in 1834 ended triumphantly in 1868, mainly because many Nonconformists felt bound to suffer distraint, and in some cases imprisonment, rather than pay to support what their consciences condemned. Yet the Church rate was levied for fabrics only, whereas this new School rate is used in many cases for teaching children what Free Churchmen abhor as dangerous errors and superstitions.

5. It is not unconstitutional to allow the law to take its course in a legally-prescribed manner, and collect payment of the rate *in kind*, (which is done entirely at the cost of the householder who cannot in conscience pay voluntarily). Mr. Justice Wills, at Beaumaris Assizes, on Feb. 23, 1888. said, on Passive Resistance to the payment of tithe: "If people submitted to distraint so as to show their protest against the law, they would be justified in doing so. As long as they did this, nothing could be said against them. . . . This was the kind of protest by which some of the best improvements in the laws which years and years ago were found to be oppressive were brought about."

6. Nonconformists consented, with much heart-searching and reluctance, to the compromise of 1870, by which Voluntary schools were left under the control of those who subscribed half the cost of their maintenance, the remaining half being provided out of the taxes. To-day the whole cost of these schools is defrayed by the State. And a new education rate is levied locally, of which some definite portion goes to maintain sectarian schools in that district. The injustice is thus brought to a precise point for each ratepayer's conscience.

7. Passive resistance costs dear. It involves disfavour, odium, obloquy, as well as pecuniary loss. Yet more than 20,000 of our most religious and orderly citizens—including most of the leading Free Church ministers—have felt bound to suffer distraint, repeatedly, in this matter, while over 150 persons have already undergone imprisonment for the same cause. Such facts are far too grave to be sneered at. Can any serious man doubt what will be the final issue? "In the long run," said Lord Palmerston, "English politics will follow the consciences of the Dissenters."

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SHALL WE GO BACK TO PROTECTION?

YES

1. After fifty years, it has become imperative to reconsider our fiscal policy. Great Britain remains the only free-trade nation. All other countries are increasingly protectionist.

2. When we adopted free trade, Britain (as the outcome of her protective policy in the past) was the one great manufacturing nation. The subsequent rapid development of our industries resulted mainly from railroads, telegraphs, ocean steamers, improved machinery and the increased production of gold—all of which new causes began to operate at about the same time.

3. While universal free trade might benefit mankind, we suffer to-day from one-sided free trade. We freely admit imports from all other countries, which shut their markets against us.

4. A protective system promotes diversities of trades and checks over-specialization. A great variety of industries reduces the distress caused by trade depression, inasmuch as all trades are not depressed at once.

5. Under protection a country, or empire, tends to become industrially self-sufficing and independent of other countries—especially in regard to its food supply. It thus avoids what would become a grave national danger to England in time of war.

6. Other countries—and in particular the United States and Germany—have grown rich under protection, and are rapidly growing richer under its fostering care. They have successfully challenged England's industrial supremacy.

They not only keep their home markets, but increase their exports. We are no longer the workshop of the world. Nations which once bought our manufactures now send us their own manufactures in increasing quantities.

7. While the export trade of the chief protectionist countries is on the up-grade, ours is on the down-grade; with the expansion of the world's commerce it ought to have expanded, whereas at best it is stagnant.

8. Our staple British industries are distinctly declining. In iron and steel manufactured goods our exports show a falling off. Our textile trade does not obtain its share in the world's increasing consumption. Our silk trade is almost destroyed by foreign protected silks. Other industries—like the tin-plate trade—have been literally killed by the American tariff.

9. Our greatest industry—agriculture—on which the physical, moral and economic well-being of the country so vitally depends, has been reduced by free trade to a disastrous condition.

10. Under free trade foreign manufactured goods—which could be well produced in England—flood the English market in ever increasing quantities, ousting our home industries and ruining both masters and workmen by goods "dumped" here below cost price, with which no home producer can compete.

11. When a working man's occupation disappears, his income goes as well, and the State is burdened by crowds of "unemployed." Under protection, even if working men paid something extra for articles of consumption, they would still be better off, by reason of increased wages and employment and by being protected against the competition of cheap foreign labour.

12. Under free trade, nearly a quarter of our population remain on the brink of actual want. No greater boon could

be conferred on British working people than a fiscal reform which secured every industrious man full and regular work at fair wages.

13. The cost of production in most trades now depends mainly on quantity produced. Hence cheapness depends on demand, that is to say, on the markets open to the producer. A protected manufacturer has two markets open to him, while his free trade competitor has only one. The former can thus (1) by a large output which reduces the cost of production, and (2) by selling in his home market at non-competitive prices, put the balance of his stock on the British market at a price which will finally extinguish his British competitor's trade.

14. A modern State must foster its commercial prosperity and protect its industries that are injured or threatened by foreign competition. At present England is fast becoming a nation of middlemen and consumers: the manufacturer and producer are being crushed out.

15. Protective import duties are paid by the consumer only when there is no competing home industry; where such exists, the duty cannot be added to the price, but is really paid by the foreign importer as a toll for his entrance into our market.

16. Even if protection raised prices and increased the cost of living, profits and wages would increase in proportion, for the country would be more prosperous; and with protection all round, all industries would benefit alike.

17. The immense and increasing divergence between the total of our imports (the goods we buy) and our exports (the goods we sell) is an alarming portent. Making every allowance for profits, shipping, interest on foreign investments etc., we are now selling less than we buy; that is, we are living on our national capital.

18. To tax all imported manufactured goods need not

prevent us from still admitting all food and raw material free of duty.

NO

1. Half a century ago England under protection had come to the brink of bankruptcy. Both in agriculture and in commerce the depression was extreme, while pauperism, crime, social distress and discontent had grown to alarming proportions. Our national prosperity began—as it has continued—with free trade, though modern inventions have certainly accelerated its advance.

2. At the present time British industry and commerce show no signs of decay. Our exports for 1902 registered the greatest annual volume of trade ever transacted by any country. In proportion to the population our export of manufactured goods is twice as great as that of Germany, and six times as great as that of the United States.

3. It is a capital error to leave out of account our home trade, which certainly is five or six times as great as our external trade. Out of a wages bill of from £700,000,000 to £750,000,000 paid in the country each year, the Board of Trade computes that only about £130,000,000 are wages paid in our exporting industries.

4. Our imports of raw materials of manufactures show a steady growth, proving that our total manufactures increase correspondingly. Home consumption more than makes up for any falling off in the foreign demand.

5. Though in its aggregate value our foreign trade shows no great progress in recent years, this is explained by the world-wide fall in prices, which masks the fact that our output has largely and steadily advanced in quantity.

6. Our expanding national wealth is evidenced by the returns from every available source. Savings banks, death-duties, income-tax, railways, shipping, all tell the same tale

of prosperity and prove that we are not "living on our national capital."

7. Although we have still a lamentable amount of poverty, nevertheless, in spite of the submerged tenth, "we are as a whole the best fed, the most regularly employed, and the most highly paid people in Europe." And in the United States, where wages are generally higher still, living costs more and work is more exhausting than in England.

8. Germany and the United States have indeed advanced —partly through their energy and enterprise and adaptability —partly because of their magnificent systems of scientific and technical education—but mainly because absolute in ternal free trade exists among the 58,000,000 people in Germany, and among the 80,000,000 people in the United States. This latter country is a continent in itself as large as Europe, including all varieties of climate and immeasurable resources of nature.

9. As rival nations multiply and develop their natural advantages, the inhabitants of these small islands cannot possibly retain all their former relative commercial supremacy. Yet by the aid of our free trade we still lead the world, and profit even by the success of our competitors. We still send to protectionist countries in every instance (with the single exception of France), and in the aggregate, a far greater amount of manufactures than they send to us.

10. The alleged decay in the chief British manufactures —such as iron and steel, textiles, silk, and tin-plates—is absolutely contradicted by the latest statistics of all these trades.

11. We need not throw away the boon of free trade, because other countries reject it. We admit their goods freely into our markets, not for their benefit but for our own. We thus obtain the materials for our manufactures and the food for our people at the lowest rates. Our shipping

trade has grown until we are the carriers of the world. Our ports have become centres for the redistribution abroad of foreign produce. Our capital is the headquarters of the world's banking and finance.

12. The whole of our complicated system of industry and commerce has been gradually evolved under the conditions created by free imports. To reverse these conditions would bring about not merely confusion, but catastrophe. It is painfully difficult for a protectionist people to adopt free trade: it would be ruinous for a free-trade people to turn protectionist.

13. Free trade leaves a country, unhampered by artificial bribes or barriers, to produce just what it is naturally best fitted to produce to economic advantage. Labour and capital have liberty to discover their most profitable enterprises.

14. We insure against industrial crises in proportion as we widen our sources of supply and our area of exchange. Free-trade England has far more diversified industries than any protectionist nation.

15. While protection is powerless to create trade or markets or capital or to increase the total of production, it can divert a certain amount of labour and capital into artificial channels. But even this is only attained by giving assistance to some selected classes of home industry at the expense of all other classes.

16. For "protective import duties are most certainly paid by the importing consumer and not by the exporting producer." The whole community would suffer from an increased cost of living. And even if certain working men obtained higher pay and more employment (neither of which is admitted) the purchasing power of their wages would sink so that they would be worse off than before.

17. Under a system of protection, each industry will

resort to political wire-pulling and corruption in order to increase the tariff in its favour. The millionaire manufacturers in the United States debauch democratic institutions for their own ends. Trusts, rings, syndicates and combines all flourish under the shadow of protection, and exploit the general consumer by forcing up prices when they are once relieved from foreign competition.

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RETALIATION

Introductory Note

By this name is understood the policy of imposing "retaliatory" duties on goods which we import from a foreign nation, so long as that nation refuses to give reciprocal or "fair" treatment to the goods which we export to it, or maintains a tariff or bounty system which unfairly penalizes Britain or her Colonies. The policy of retaliation is specially aimed at stopping the import of foreign goods which are sold here at prices below what they cost to produce.

Many of the arguments for, and against, this policy have been summarized already under "Protection."

The following may be added :—

FOR

1. Reciprocity is no more than fair play. Retaliation is not protection : it simply endeavours to force foreign nations to treat us as we already treat them. We cannot negotiate effectively for a reduction of tariffs unless we have something with which to bargain. Retaliation is the only weapon by means of which a protectionist system can be conquered, and a protectionist people brought to reason.

2. At present England is the one great open mart in the world, and so the one great "dumping-ground." Foreign trade combinations are not only sheltered by tariffs, but encouraged by subsidies, bounties, exemption from taxes, and low freights ; thus they are able to manufacture goods in huge quantities which hold a monopoly of their own home market and so can be sold in England at or even below cost price.

3. It becomes hopeless for our manufactures to compete with goods produced under such conditions, and often by sweated labour, especially as our laws and our Trade Unions protect British workmen against sweating, insanitary conditions, etc. To place the British producer on a fair footing, we must retaliate by excluding the produce of sweated labour abroad.

4. This has grown more than ever imperative since the dangerous development of foreign syndicates and trusts, which deliberately operate to raise or lower prices and to dislocate the normal course of trade.

5. Retaliation would enable us to obtain fair commercial treaties from other nations, which now (in spite of their pledge to grant us "most favoured nation treatment") habitually place their heaviest duties on such goods as they import mainly from us, and their lightest duties on such goods as they import mainly from countries which practise retaliation.

6. While our commerce has nothing to fear from fair competition, it is being gradually destroyed by this unfair form of attack. The aim of "dumping" is to capture the British market by first ruining the British manufacturer. When once our British sugar refineries (for instance) had all been compelled to close through the "dumping" of foreign bounty-fed sugar, this sugar would promptly rise to a monopoly price.

7. Although some particular home industries may profit at present by the "dumping" of cheap raw material, this gain cannot be permanent, and it is far more than counterbalanced by the injury done to other trades.

8. On the other hand, if retaliation involved some temporary loss, such loss would be abundantly repaid by the fairer terms of competition which retaliation would speedily secure.

9. Retaliation is a weapon essential to defend our self-governing colonies from foreign attack in cases where they give a preference to goods from the mother country. The danger is by no means imaginary. Germany has already penalized Canadian imports for this very reason.

10. Probably no more would be necessary than for our Government to posses power to retaliate in cases of unfair treatment. As we do the largest trade and hold the strongest position, we need not be afraid of fiscal reprisals. For their own sakes the protectionist nations would quickly come to terms. England's threat to exclude bounty-fed sugar has already secured a general abolition of the bounties.

AGAINST

1. It is a cardinal fallacy to consider trade as a battle, and not as an exchange of benefits. We profit by obtaining goods, as well as by selling them; and we should penalize ourselves far more than any other people if England ceased to be the great open market for all countries.

2. The amount of actual "dumping" has been grossly exaggerated. From the nature of the case it can only be a temporary and partial thing, due to special circumstances, like the sales of bankrupt stock at low prices. Producers will not go on permanently selling at a loss. Moreover the real harm dumping has done us is also exaggerated. Our iron trade, for instance, is said to have suffered particularly from this practice. Yet, according to the income-tax assessors, the total profits of the iron trade rose from £3,000,000 in 1898–9 to £5,380,000 in 1900–1.

3. To buy cheaply cannot be anything but an advantage to us. The consumer benefits by the low price he pays, and, as a rule, these artificially cheap goods are unfinished materials to be worked up by British manufacturers, who can thus employ more labour at home and compete better

with their rivals abroad. If these "dumped" goods were shut out here, they would go to other markets and so increase the advantage of the foreign producer.

4. The real antidote to trusts and syndicates is to be found in the utmost amount of free competition, and not in any tariff system under which they invariably thrive.

5. Retaliation would not effect its avowed object. We see how between other nations instead of lowering duties it provokes further retaliation, until the tariff barriers on both sides become well-nigh prohibitive. To adopt it would involve England in a commercial conflict with the world, in which she must necessarily lose more than her opponents.

6. Although we do not threaten retaliation when we negotiate commercial treaties, the practical result is that Portugal and Haiti are the only countries which withhold from us any fiscal exemption which they gra nt to others.

7. As a rule, we could only retaliate upon a protective country, by putting a duty on something which it sends us of a different kind from that home trade which we wish to defend. Thus the countries which levy the highest duties on our manufactures are Russia and the United States—the latter of which does us most harm by "dumping." Yet our imports of manufactures from these countries are comparatively so small, that we could only retaliate on them by taxing the food or the raw materials which they send us. For instance, the United States puts heavy duties on English woollen goods; but we could not put a countervailing duty on American woollen goods, since we import none. We should be driven to tax Amercian corn or cotton, and so dislocate the Lancashire cotton trade or raise the price of bread over the United Kingdom.

8. Retaliation is merely a disguise for protection. In the many industries where a retaliatory duty did not suc-

ceed, it would become permanent. All other trades would demand similar protection, and most of them could allege some amount of "unfair" treatment by the foreigner. No government could decide equitably which trades really needed such protection, and to what extent they deserved it. We should speedily come to protection all round.

9. To threaten retaliation is idle—and indeed dangerous—unless we are resolutely prepared to carry it out. It will have no effect, unless we convince a protective nation that we can and shall do its trade more harm than it can do our trade. But this power is precisely what we do not possess.

10. Our self-governing Colonies enjoy such entire fiscal independence that they "dump" goods here themselves, and they must be treated as fiscal units. Moreover in dealing with foreign nations they chiefly export food-stuffs and import manufactures, and thus they stand in a very different position from the mother country, if they desire to retaliate on their own account.

11. The British Government can always ask Parliament for special power to deal with any particular case of commercial "unfairness" on the part of a foreign nation. But no Government could be trusted with arbitrary authority to impose or relax duties as it thought fit.

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See under "Protection."

COLONIAL PREFERENCE

Introductory Note

This proposal is understood to mean that (i.) the British Colonies should levy lower duties on goods imported from Great Britain than on goods from other countries; while (ii.) the Mother Country should admit all Colonial produce free, or at lower rates than those levied on competing foreign produce.

FOR

1. The dominant feature of the last two centuries has been the gradual expansion of England beyond the seas. The urgent need of to-day is to draw together the scattered parts of our Empire into effective unity. But Imperial Federation must be built upon commercial solidarity. In Mr. Chamberlain's words, "A system of preferential tariffs is the only system by which the Empire can be kept together."

2. The question concerns the future unity of our Empire, and cannot be settled by the worn-out shibboleths of statesmen half a century dead, who never realized either the possibilities or the perils of to-day.

3. Our great self-governing Colonies, Canada, Australia, and the Cape, which have already given signal proofs of their loyalty, are making us practical offers in this matter. If we refuse their advances, we shall drive them into a spirit of antagonism. Canada, in particular, would probably be forced into commercial reciprocity with the United States.

4. It is not proposed to interfere with the political or fiscal freedom of the Colonies. The various parts of the Empire are invited to enter into a voluntary agreement

which will benefit them all—separately and collectively. The great ideal of free trade within and throughout a self-sufficing Empire cannot be realized at present. But Colonial preference is the first step towards this ideal, with all its splendid prospects for the future.

5. Our trade with foreign countries is sensibly contracting, on account of their hostile tariffs ; while our trade with the Colonies is expanding rapidly. Already two-fifths of our home exports go to British possessions. In proportion to their population, our Colonies buy from us far more than foreign countries. Ought we not to cultivate trade with our kinsmen and fellow-subjects rather than with rival and hostile nations ?

6. Even if by adopting a system of Colonial preference our foreign trade were to suffer, this loss would be more than compensated by the increase in our Colonial trade, which has possibilities of indefinite expansion. With its vast and varied provinces the Empire may be made self-supporting and self-sufficing : it can produce every single necessity and nearly every luxury of life. Now preferential treatment of the Colonies would rapidly develop their enormous resources, stimulate emigration, and so create new demands for the manufactures of the Mother Country.

7. In 1897 Canada began to grant a rebate of 33⅓ per cent on the import duty on goods from the United Kingdom. British imports into Canada have risen from £6,000,000 in 1897 to over £10,000,000 in 1902.

8. Mr. Chamberlain has frankly admitted that "if we are to give a preference to the Colonies, we must put a tax on food." But the chief part of such a tax would be paid by foreign producers and importers and would not fall on the British consumer. And, as Mr. Chamberlain has said again, " Even if the price of food is raised, the rate of wages will certainly be raised in greater proportions." Moreover

the new import duties levied on corn and meat would be compensated by the existing duties to be remitted (under this scheme) on other articles of common consumption. Thus, "if a working man were called upon to pay 3*d.* a week additional on the cost of his bread, he might be relieved by a reduction of a similar amount on the cost of his tea, his sugar, or his tobacco."

9. Even if Colonial preference entailed for the present some apparent sacrifice, we ought to welcome it for the sake of consolidating and building up the Empire. Besides its other advantages, this policy would give an immense impetus to farming both at home and in the Colonies. Before many years it would deliver us from our dependence on foreign food supplies in time of war. And by reviving British agriculture, it would bring back population from our congested cities on to the land once more.

AGAINST.

1. Every patriot would make sacrifices in order to unite the Colonies more closely to the Mother Country. But the strongest and safest bonds exist already, in our common blood and speech and history and traditions and laws. Out of these deep-rooted natural affinities our Empire has grown up, and shows no signs of falling asunder. Sixty years ago we abolished preferential trading with our Colonies, and the Empire has grown steadily stronger, wealthier, and more united. The same freedom will best promote its still closer union. A wise Mother does not bribe her children to remain by her side.

2. Colonial preference, so far from bringing about closer Imperial unity, would involve constant friction, jealousies, and ill-will. As soon as you tax food for the sake of the Colonies you make every British working man feel them as a burden and a hardship. The preference which they

would give us does not touch their supplies of food or raw material; but the preference which we must give them affects the bread and meat of 40,000,000 people. Moreover the system entails a process of tariff-haggling between the Mother Country and each Colony in succession over a problem so complex that the wit of man could not devise a preferential scheme equitable and workable between all the parties concerned. The system would tend to disintegrate, rather than to consolidate the Empire.

3. Internal free trade throughout the Empire might benefit us, as it has undoubtedly proved most advantageous to Germany and to the United States. But a system of discriminating duties, involving separate fiscal bargains with each Colony, would only raise new obstacles to hinder freedom of exchange. The United Kingdom, India, the Crown Colonies, and (to a large extent) South Africa are on a free trade basis already.

4. Out of our total external trade of £880,000,000 a year, only £225,000,000 goes to other parts of the Empire —nearly one-third of this being taken by India. Our export trade with the protectionist Colonies is only £60,000,000—and for this we are asked to disturb and dislocate our whole trade of £880,000,000. The Colonies contain a population of 11,000,000 people, and increase but slowly. Our present exports to Germany, Holland and Belgium are twice as large as our exports to Canada and Australasia.

5. British prosperity depends far more on our home trade than on our foreign trade. If we tax the food of our entire home population, we diminish their power to purchase all other articles, and injure the whole internal trade of the country.

6. Colonial preference might provoke dangerous reprisals, particularly from the United States, who could, for instance,

levy a ruinous export duty on cotton, or stop the transit of Canadian wheat for shipment from their ports. Moreover, if we impose a permanent food-tax for the sake of the Colonies, we rob ourselves of the possibility of an intermittent food-tax—which is our chief weapon for Retaliation. These two cannot possibly be combined. (See the previous subject.)

7. The self-governing Colonies are strongly protectionist Their great object is to foster their own industries. Every year proves that they have no intention whatever to admit British manufactures free. The preference already granted by Canada still leaves her manufacturers with a 24 per cent protection over British goods. This kind of preference does us very little good. And if food and raw materials were taxed at home, our home manufacturers would be still further crippled from competing in these Colonial markets.

8. Since the grant by Canada of a preference to British goods, our total exports to Canada have indeed grown, but the proportion they bear to the total Canadian imports has shrunk from 27·58 per cent. in 1897 to 24·95 per cent. in 1902. Mr. Chamberlain confessed in 1892 that "the substantial results have been altogether disappointing."

9. Three-quarters of our food supplies come from foreign countries. To tax these, so as to "stimulate agriculture at home and in the Colonies," must raise the price of our food by an amount far greater than the benefit which the revenue or the Colonies would reap. The cost of living would seriously increase, while there is no proof whatever that wages or salaries, in most cases, would rise. In our social system, which has been evolved under free trade, the resultant hardships would fall most heavily on the struggling classes, millions of whom are now subsisting on a bare living wage. Tobacco, and even tea, cannot be counted as necessities like meat and bread.

10. Colonial preference must necessarily lead to duties not only on food, but on wool, hides, timber, etc., and before long to protection all round.

11. If we were involved in war it might become a serious national danger to have our food supplies drawn entirely from within the Empire. For example, the United States would not readily allow that food-stuffs were "contraband," so long as we were the largest customer for her wheat.

12. There is nothing to hinder the Colonies from giving preferences to British imports in their own markets, as some contribution towards the immense cost of maintaining and defending the Empire, which now falls almost entirely on the Mother Country.

REFERENCES :—

See under Protection.

SHOULD A LIVING WAGE FOR ALL BE FIXED BY PARLIAMENT?

YES

1. Wages should be sufficient to enable every labourer to live in a manner consistent with the dignity of a human being. Anything short of this is a great moral wrong and a serious danger to the state.

2. It is true that so-called economic laws are said to be against artificially regulating the rates of wages, but such laws in effect only state that certain results will follow from certain sets of circumstances. The conditions precedent to these results *can* be changed by human effort.

3. Belief in the power of economic laws to prevent any lasting modification in rates of wages by human action is cherished and kept alive by those who have a direct interest in keeping wages low.

4. The fallacy of blindly following the teachings of economists in these matters is shown by the disastrous results of the policy of *laissez-faire* in the growth of factory systems; and the plea of impossibility is disposed of by the gain to industry as a whole, and not merely to labour from the more enlightened policy embodied in the factory acts, and such legislation.

5. The law of increasing returns is applicable to labour. The better labourers are paid the more efficient do they become, and therefore cheaper in the long run. Economists recognise this, and so do the more enlightened of employers.

6. The strict economists who preached salvation by unlimited bargaining believed that this would produce a

living wage. Since events have proved them in error, a modification of their doctrine is required.

7. The churches from earliest times have urged the justice of a living wage. Leo XIII wrote an encyclical in favour of the principle, and many Protestant divines have urged it upon mankind.

NO

1. The scheme, like so many others based upon vague theories of the "rights of man," is impracticable. In the question of wages we are concerned with economics and not with ethics. How is the figure to be arrived at? The cost of living varies continually from time to time and from place to place. A man's calling and the position he must keep up is another difficulty.

2. Men should be free to bargain as best they can in the case of human labour as in everything else, and only free bargaining can lead to just rates of wages being paid.

3. Interference with free bargaining is bad for the labourer as well as for the employer, for if profits are diminished the rate at which capital is saved is diminished, and with it the power of production. Consequently the national dividend is decreased and all suffer alike. Capital also will emigrate.

4. If wages are artificially forced up the price of the products of labour must rise, and since labour is the largest consumer labour is the heaviest loser.

5. Experience shows that a forced minimum wage is very apt to be the maximum. Hence the competent worker is penalized for the benefit of the incompetent. Also, though employers may be compelled to pay no less than the minimum, they cannot be compelled to employ, and old and infirm workers may be discharged.

6. Even if ethical arguments are admitted, the proper procedure is by moral suasion of unscrupulous employers

by religious bodies, force of public opinion, etc., and not by act of parliament, which is far too inelastic for so delicate a subject.

REFERENCES :—

A Living Wage. By J. A. Ryan. 1906.
Sweated Industries and the Minimum Wage. By C. Black. 1907.
The Living Wage. By Philip Snowden, M.P. Hodder & Stoughton.
Industrial Democracy. By Sydney and Beatrice Webb. 1897.
History of Trade Unionism. By Sydney and Beatrice Webb. 1902.
Report of Poor Law Commission.
The Social Problem. By John A. Hobson. 1901.
Economics of Industry. By Prof. Marshall.

IS THE PRESENT ATTITUDE OF GERMANY A MENACE TO THE WORLD'S PEACE?

YES

1. Germany is dominated by Prussia and by the Junker or land-holding class, which is militarist and reactionary.

2. The people, though by instinct peaceable, are being steadily educated in the belief that the destruction of England's supremacy at sea is an essential preliminary to the expansion of Germany. Her present attitude is one of determined expansion. Plans for a "Greater Germany" have been openly written about. German-speaking Austria, Belgium, Holland and the Baltic provinces are freely spoken of as territory to be absorbed.

3. Germany is ambitious for a great colonial empire. Witness the Kaiser's recent demand for "a place in the sun." England's possessions are an insuperable obstacle, and therefore Germany is determined upon war with this country as soon as she may feel herself sufficiently strong.

4. The "mailed fist" is her idea of foreign policy. At the crisis brought about by Austria's annexation of Bosnia Herzegovina, she abandoned all attempt at argument and marched an army corps to the frontier to cow Russia into submission. Has a more cynical disregard for justice and peace ever been displayed?

5. The majority of Germans are unsound economically. They regard trade as "a bone only one dog can have," and the volume of exports as the sole test of prosperity. Consequently they regard damage to a trade rival as an act of patriotism, and political and military expansion as the main road to commercial success.

6. The Kaiser's attitude is manifestly a warlike one. He is constantly delivering speeches calculated to foster militarism and aggression and has from the first set himself to build up a powerful fleet which is unnecessary except for offensive action.

7. Germany takes the lead in the policy of piling up armaments and this in itself is a serious menace to peace.

NO

1. Political power may be still largely in the hands of the Junker class, but this is rapidly changing. The middle classes are preponderantly pacificist and so, of course, are the socialists. The latter are rapidly gaining strength, as witness the last election.

2. Germany's desire for expansion is perfectly legitimate and indeed necessary. But it does not follow that this is a danger to peace. Peaceful expansion brought about by economic means is easier, more effective, and is in fact being steadily carried out.

3. While England has frequently been at war, notably in the Transvaal, for the sake of colonial expansion, Germany alone of all great nations has consistently maintained peace for the last forty years. Allegations of intentions are a poor answer to facts.

4. The number of arbitration cases in which Germany has recently been engaged are the best answer to this argument. In 1899 the dispute between Germany, U.S.A. and Great Britain was settled. In 1904 Germany's dispute with Venezuela; and in 1909 the Casablanca affair. In the latter case it was Germany herself who suggested arbitration.

5. It is now rapidly becoming recognised that war inflicts as much damage on the victor as upon the vanquished

Norman Angell's arguments to prove this assertion are still unanswered and apply with great force to Germany. They are recognised there and have received the expressed approval of the Kaiser. These economic arguments alone are sufficient to dispose of any danger to peace.

6. The Kaiser has frequently shown by word and deed that he desires peace above all things. Pacifists of every nation have always been welcomed by him and he has taken many steps to promote peace, notably the arrangement for an exchange of German and U.S.A. professors.

7. Strong armaments are not a danger to but a guarantee for peace. "If you would have peace prepare yourself for war."

REFERENCES :—

The German Emperor and The Peace of the World. By A. H. Fried. 1912.
The Great Illusion. By Norman Angell. 1910.
Europe's Optical Illusion. By Norman Angell. 1909.
The German Peril. By "Akaroa." 1907.
German Ambitions as they affect Great Britain. 1903.

FURTHER SUBJECTS FOR DEBATE

1. Should we establish national granaries?
2. Is the art of letter-writing declining?
3. Can the Church keep her hold on young men?
4. Should canvassing at parliamentary elections be abolished?
5. Would we choose to live our lives over again?
6. Ought we to have a National Theatre and a Dramatic Academy?
7. Do we want realism or impressionism in art?
8. Should a starving person be convicted of theft for taking bread to save life?
9. Is credit capital?
10. In what does the prosperity of a nation consist?
11. Is the theory of bimetallism sound?
12. Ought the U.S.A. to take her place in European politics?
13. Can self-denial ever be immoral?
14. Is there such a thing as a disinterested motive?
15. Should there be any limit put to the results of war?
16. Should the law against suicide be altered?
17. Which is the better for a country—well-endowed professorships or richly revenued bishoprics?
18. Ought horse-racing to be abolished?
19. Ought the ticket-of-leave system to be abolished?
20. Can we have an universal language?
21. Under modern conditions is celibacy preferable to married life?

22. Is true education a mental training or a preparation for special pursuits?
23. Is vegetarianism absurd?
24. Is suburban life duller than country life?
25. Are entertainments risking human life immoral?
26. Does modern education fail to develop character?
27. Are hospital nurses degenerating?
28. Is government wanted more or less as civilization advances?
29. Ought we to restrict the export of coal?
30. Has the invention of gunpowder been a curse?
31. Do we learn more from reading or from observation?
32. Is the principle of utility a safe moral guide?
33. Is a classical education necessary for an English gentleman?
34. Are we really happy or miserable?
35. Is lynch law ever justifiable?
36. Can we abolish gambling?
37. Are the clergy priests or pastors?
38. [illegible]?
39. Ought Churches to abolish pew-rents?
40. Which should be supreme, the Bible, the Church, or the Conscience?
41. Do the clergy hinder the progress of humanity as much as the army?
42. Is every man the best judge of his own interests?
43. Are women constitutionally Tories?
44. Is science the destroyer of poetry?
45. Is duelling justifiable?
46. Which is worse, the hypocrite or the liar?
47. Is Great Britain beginning to decline?
48. What is a gentleman?
49. How can we best serve our country?

50. Is persecution always wrong?
51. Which does experience justify, the optimist or the pessimist?
52. Does ill-health improve people's characters?
53. Are Christians happier than other people?
54. Which do us more good, our friends or our enemies?
55. What is justice? What is liberty? What is success in life?
56. Which is happier, the town mouse or the country mouse?
57. What is bad language?
58. Which are the greater trial, poor relations or rich?
59. Did Bacon write Shakespeare?
60. Ought we to agitate for definite ethical training in schools?
61. Is pleasure the end of moral conduct?
62. Is an age of general intellectual culture favourable to the development of great men?
63. Ought corporal punishment to be abolished in schools?
64. Should the ringing of church bells be prohibited?
65. Should we keep diaries?
66. Should the Fire Brigade be a branch of the Army?
67. Can the Sermon on the Mount be really carried out in modern Britain?
68. Has a man any natural rights apart from the welfare of the race?
69. Are museums a failure?
70. Ought we to endow research?
71. Should amusements be taxed?
72. Is the insular position of Great Britain an advantage?
73. Ought we to nationalize Dr. Barnardo's homes?

74. Should the State supply free technical education ?
75. Is our modern intellectual development due more to religion or to science ?
76. Is the principle of the single tax sound ?
77. Should there be a tax on bachelors ?
78. Is the celibacy of the clergy desirable ?
79. Is psychology becoming an exact science ?
80. Can the middleman be eliminated ?
81. Is there a Yellow Peril ?
82. Is Zionism practicable ?
83. Does evolution conflict with ethics ?
84. Is Disarmament possible ?
85. Is Church-going any use ?
86. Is Evangelicalism dying ?
87. Ought punishment to be retributive or reformatory ?
88. Is High Licence the solution of the drink problem ?
89. Is family life doomed ?
90. Must the world ultimately starve ?
91. Is the Y.M.C.A. a failure ?
92. Are the Latin nations dying ?
93. Is death a curse or a boon ?
94. Should Land Banks be established ?
95. Is music being murdered by modern technical dexterity ? ask Old Lady Brown - Music 34
96. Are Scotchmen better soldiers than Englishmen ?
97. Is hypocrisy one of our national characteristics ?
98. Can England be saved from yellow-journalism ?
99. Are Revivalists generally impostors ?
100. Is our literature decadent ? Dreiser, Glyn, Wrig
101. Must we fight for new markets ?
102. Is Ireland a failure ? Don't be funny
103. Is literature, economically, a form of productive labour ?
104. Should the Second Chamber be strengthened ?

You can lead a horse to water, but you can't make him drink

105. Is the War Office hopeless ?
106. Does the modern State need a Figure Head ? no a Judas
107. Is science killing literature ?
108. " Individual Communion Cups."
109. Is chivalry dying out ?
110. Does the Higher Criticism do more harm than good ?
111. What the worker wants. Money, Food, Sleep
112. Ought a man always to obey his conscience ? Good Lo no Toug
113. Is travel the best education ? (f/u/c a n/affordit)
114. Is slavery really abolished ?
115. Ought advertisements to be controlled, or totally prohibited ?
116. What honours ought to be bestowed on the King's next birthday ? Soup
117. Are literary men decadents ?
118. Is Mr. Bernard Shaw a danger to the State ?
119. Ought England to exclude aliens ?
120. Should machinery for a Referendum be established ?
121. Was Mr. Pickwick a Christian ? Ask Luther Burban
122. Ownership or tenancy for small holdings.
123. Are we over legislated for ?
124. Is it right to restrain the " unfit " from marriage ?
125. The Housing Problem.
126. Proportional representation.
127. Plural Voting.
128. Should Mahommedans be allowed to rule over Christians ?
129. Should we pity our grand-children.?
130. Does uplift uplift?
131.

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